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pp. 2-63 surveys about diatoms
as a continuum, including
isopods maps; pp. 64-120
comparative and individual lists of
prothales for W Greenland, N.
Quebec, Copper, North Slope Alaska;
120-151 additional lists for
Gr. N. Gr., Av. Lik, S. Buffalo, Labrador,
Nets. Lik, Mackenzie, Kluane,
and Pen. 157-196 short texts in
all form; 203-210 CY
list, 212-234 index.

CE Fortescue, Michael.

978

F The Inuit dialects. 14 pp. + 4 pp.

1980

Ms. and typescript. 14 pp. isogloss maps for entire Inuit Arctic showing distribution of phonological traits; 4 pp. letter with discussion. The best information to date on Canadian Inuit dialects. Also in file, letters of response by Michael Krauss and Larry Kaplan.

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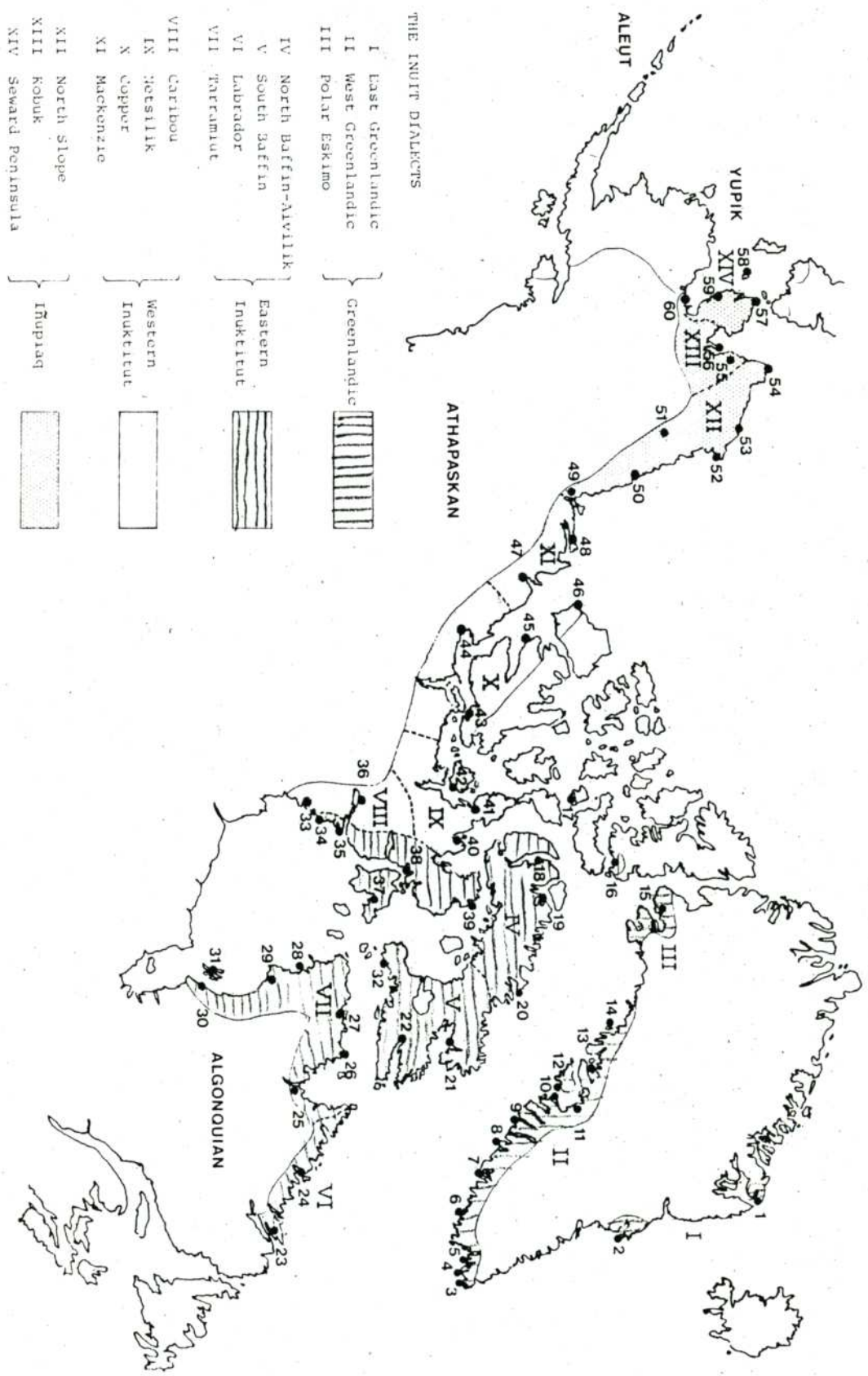
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McKenzie

Degree of consonant assimilation



1. Maximal non-assimilation (but some Nunamiut as N Slope)
 2. Regressive manner assimilation (no stops before continuants)
 3. Fricative-plus-stop as well as stop-plus-stop, at least as regards uvular (esp. in East); also voiced stop plus sonorant
 4. /t/ or /l/ (or 'j₂') plus consonant assimilated regressively (except /ts/)
 5. /p/ (/b/) plus consonant merged with /t/ plus consonant (tending towards geminates)
 6. /k/ (/g/) plus consonant merged with /t/ plus consonant (tending towards geminates)
 7. Full regressive assimilation (except for uvular plus consonant)
 8. Full regressive assimilation and /r/ merged with /g/
 9. As (7) plus merging of geminate /l/ (and 'j₂') with /tt/
- Nasal before nasal in all Inuktitut (& some Inupiaq sub-)dialects except for some western /r/ plus nasal – also Greenlandic (apart from W and E Gr. /r/ plus nasal)

A COMPARATIVE MANUAL OF AFFIXES
FOR THE INUIT DIALECTS OF
GREENLAND, CANADA, AND ALASKA

Michael D. Fortescue

ABSTRACT

The information gathered in the present work is aimed at use both by students of the Eskimo languages and by Inuit speakers wishing to comprehend and communicate more directly with speakers of dialects other than their own. Productive affixes from fourteen dialect areas from East Greenland to North Alaska are presented for the first time in one place and in a common phonemic orthography. These morphological elements, often difficult to isolate and subject to continual innovation within individual dialects, represent one of the most problematic areas for mutual comprehension. Particular emphasis has been placed on divergences from Central West Greenlandic in three other cardinal dialects, namely Tarra-miut for the eastern Canadian Arctic, Copper for the western Canadian Arctic (where the author carried out field work in the summer of 1980), and North Slope Iñupiaq for Alaska. For each of these dialects comprehensive lists containing morphophonemic information and English glosses are arranged in parallel columns according to twenty-six easily comparable semantic groups. Divergences from the main lists for the remaining ten dialects are presented in alphabetical lists. The introductory sections describe the phonological correspondances between the dialects (plus important grammatical differences) and explain how the book can be used in practical terms. To this end a translation into West Greenlandic is included. Linguistic isogloss maps and examples of usage of affixes with no direct equivalent in West Greenlandic are supplied, as is a short sample text for each dialect treated (with interlinear English glosses). Further, there is included an overview of the various orthographic systems to be encountered for material in Canada and Alaska, an essay on successive affix ordering, and, for the sake of comparison, a similarly organized list of affixes for Central Alaskan Yupik.

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THE INUIT DIALECTS

- | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| I East Greenlandic | } Greenlandic | | |
| II West Greenlandic | | | |
| III Polar Eskimo | | | |
| IV N. Baffin-Aivilik | } Eastern Inuktitut | XII North Slope | } Inupiaq |
| V South Baffin | | XIII Kobuk | |
| VI Labrador | | XIV Seward Peninsula | |
| VII Tarramiut | | | |
| VIII Caribou | } Western Inuktitut | | |
| IX Netsilik | | | |
| X Copper | | | |
| XI Mackenzie | | | |

PRINCIPAL INUIT TOWNS AND SETTLEMENTS

- 1) Scoresbysund (Ittuqqurttuurmiit)
- 2) Ammassalik
- 3) Kap Farvel: Frederiksdal (Narsaq Kujalliq)
- 4) Nanortalik
- 5) Julianehåb (Qaqurtuq)
- 6) Frederikshåb (Paamiut)
- 7) Godthåb (Nuuk)
- 8) Sukkertoppen (Maniitsug)
- 9) Holsteinsborg (Sisimiut)
- 10) Egedesminde (Aasiaat)
- 11) Jakobshavn (Ilulissat)
- 12) Godhavn (Qiqartarsuaq)
- 13) Uummannaq
- 14) Upernavik
- 15) Thule (Qaana^aq)
- 16) Grise Fiord (Ausuittuq)
- 17) Resolute Bay (Qausuittuq)
- 18) Arctic Bay (Igpiarjuq)
- 19) Pond Inlet (Mittimatalik)
- 20) Clyde River (Kangirsugapik)
- 21) Pangnirtung (Pannirtuq)
- 22) Frobisher Bay (Iqaluit)
- 23) Rigolet
- 24) Nain
- 25) Fort Chimo (Kuudjuaq)
- 26) Koartak (Quartuq)
- 27) Wakeham Bay (Kangirsurjuaq)
- ~~28) Ivujivik~~
- 28) Povungnituk (Puvirnituaq)

- 29) Port Harrison (Inudjuaq)
- 30) Great Whale River (Kuudjuaraapik)
- 31) Belcher Islands (Sanikiluaq)
- 32) Cape Dorset (Kinngait)
- 33) Eskimo Point (Arviaq)
- 34) Rankin Inlet (Kangiriniq)
- 35) Chesterfield Inlet (Igluligarjuk)
- 36) Baker Lake (Qamanittuaq)
- 37) Coral Harbour (Saglik)
- 38) Repulse Bay (Naujat)
- 39) Igloolik (Iglulik)
- 40) Pelly Bay (Arviligjuaq)
- 41) Spence Bay (Talurjuaq)
- 42) Gjoa Haven (Ursurtuq)
- 43) Cambridge Bay (Iqalugtuuttiaq)
- ~~44) Bathurst Inlet (Kinngait)~~
- 44) Coppermine (Qurlurtuq)
- 45) Holman Island (Ulughartuq)
- 46) Sachs Harbour
- 47) Paulatuk (Paulatuq)
- 48) Tuktoyaktuk (Tugtuujaartuq)
- 49) Inuvik (Inuvik) and Aklavik (Agbarvik)
- 50) Barter Island (Qaakturvik)
- 52) ~~Point~~ Barrow (Utqiarvik)
- 53) Wainwright (Uluṛṛṇiq)
- 54) Point Hope (Tikiraq)
- 55) Noatak
- 56) Kotzebue
- 57) Cape Prince of Wales (Kingik) and Little Diomed Island
- 58) King Island
- 59) Nome
- 60) Unalakleet

INTRODUCTION

This manual is an attempt to compare the derivational affixes (or 'post-bases') of all the Inuit dialects of Greenland, Canada and Alaska¹ in easily comparable semantic groupings. They are presented for the first time in one place and in a standard phonemic orthography. As differences here probably represent the principal area of difficulty for a speaker of one dialect trying to understand (or make himself or herself understood to) a speaker of another, it is hoped that this work will contribute to facilitating communication between fellow Inuit as well as provide interest for linguists familiar with one dialect wishing to approach material in any other. Differences in stem vocabulary also exist of course², but stems and lexicalized whole words specific to a particular area can much more easily be isolated and their meaning asked about or checked in a dictionary than can affixes of varying morphophonemic shape. Only those affixes which are truly productive (i.e. can be added to a large number of stems) are dealt with - plus a few border-line cases (in brackets). There are many more 'fossilized' ones found only in a handful of lexicalized words, but these, by and large, tend to reoccur in all the dialects and need to be learnt in any case in combination with the stems concerned.

Emphasis has been laid on differences in usage between standard (written) West Greenlandic, with which I am most familiar, and the three other typical 'main' dialects represented. Exemplification of affixes in the latter with no direct equivalent in West Greenlandic are given following the lists. The material for some of the other dialects (especially the more westerly ones) is probably not as complete as that for West Greenland and may contain archaic or doubtful forms, due in part to the nature of the source material on which I have had to rely - though responsibility for the correctness of the data included is of course mine alone.³ I have tried to enter all fully 'lexicalized' combinations of more basic affixes (where the meaning is not simply the sum of the parts), but this has not proved practical for all 'semi-lexicalized' combinations which are commonly encountered but whose meaning is completely predictable from that of their parts. Only the most common of the latter have been entered.

The orthography employed is a compromise between the new Greenlandic standard (minus non-phonemic 'e', 'o' and 'f') and the Inuit Cultural Institute norm for Canadian Inuktitut.⁴ Special symbols have been added as required - for example in the case of the palatalized

sounds 'l' and 'ñ' found in Alaska. The purpose is to represent how the affixes are actually pronounced in the different dialects, with as little overlap of symbols as possible. The symbols used are thus phonemic within any one dialect (with few exceptions one symbol representing one word-distinguishing sound) but should not be taken as a proposal for a common Inuit script.⁵ Although the solution I adopt, which stays close to the phonetic 'surface' yet is based on the need for maximum 'recognizability' of the 'same' affix across dialects, may be of use to Inuit concerned with this question, the eventual adoption of a common orthography is entirely a matter for them to decide themselves on practical and sociolinguistic grounds.

The affixes are arranged according to the following four main areas: Greenlandic, eastern Canadian Inuktitut, western Canadian Inuktitut, and Alaskan Inupiaq.⁶ Within each of these areas there is a rather complete list for one 'main' dialect (dictated in part by the availability of reliable and extensive data), while differences from these for the other dialects within each area are presented in individual alphabetical lists. Thus, inevitably, it is not always possible to tell if a particular affix on a 'main' dialect list also occurs productively in any other dialect of that area (only positive differences being indicated), although in all likelihood such an affix would at least be recognizable to speakers of any adjacent dialect. Due to various 'migrations' and the mixing of people from different dialect regions in some of the larger settlements, the exact boundaries for the occurrence of particular affixes are doubtless somewhat more blurred than the lists might suggest.

The affixes themselves fall into twenty six semantic groups -plus one for enclitics, which follow any verbal or nominal inflection on the word. The first eight of these ('Being & Becoming', 'Lack-^{ing}', 'Feeling', 'Having', 'Acquiring', 'Movement', 'Acting & Seeming Like', and 'Doing With & Providing') form verbs from nominal stems.⁷ The next six ('Judging & Saying', 'Wishing & Waiting', 'Causation & Request', 'Striving & Intending', 'Potentiality', and 'Relation Shifters'⁸) extend verbal stems to form 'compound-like' verbs. Groups 15 to 18 ('Degree', 'Manner', 'Phase of Completion', and 'Frequency & Duration') modify verbal stems in terms of degree or manner of action, or of aspect (mode of extension of an action or state in time). Group 19 ('Tense') is for affixes indicating time of action relative to the present moment of speech, and group 20 ('Modality') concerns the speaker's evaluation of the probability of the action or state being talked about. Groups 21 to 23 ('Negation', 'Sub-

jective Coloration'- indicating the speaker's emotional attitude or reaction⁹ -and 'Conjunctional' -for linking subordinate clauses to main ones-)complete the affixes taking verbal inflections. Group 24 ('Nominalizers') forms nouns from verbal stems, group 26 ('Nominal Extenders') produces 'compound-like' nouns when added to nominal stems, and group 26 ('Nominal Modifiers') modifies nominal stems in terms of such dimensions as size, age, subjective evaluation, etc. Generalizations concerning the ordering of successive affixes from these groups can be found in the appendix. A sample text from each of the dialect areas treated, a note on the orthographies to be encountered in these areas, and, for comparative interest, an arrangement of Central Alaskan affixes^{Yupik} according to the same semantic principles as for the 'main' lists can also be found at the back of the manual.

In practical terms, the manual can be used in the following manner. If one is most familiar with, say, West Greenlandic and comes across an unknown affix (either spoken or in a written text) in one of the three other 'main' dialects, one can either refer to the alphabetical index at the back or guess from context as to which of the twenty six groups it might belong to. Turning to that section one can look directly for the affix (in the form it would take following a vowel stem). If you do not know the English word(s) glossing the affix you can often find the nearest West Greenlandic equivalent by looking in the parallel column concerned for the same English gloss.¹⁰ If the unknown affix has the symbol '%' following its gloss you can also look up an example of its use in the appropriate section (the symbol means it has no equivalent in West Greenlandic in fact). If, on the other hand, you want to know how to express a certain concept for which you know the affix used in West Greenlandic but not in the new dialect, you need only reverse the process by looking for an affix in the parallel column with the same (or similar) English gloss. If the affix you want to check up on is in a dialect other than the four 'main' ones, you should look for it in the ^{appropriate alphabetical} list (again in the form following a vowel - the section below should help you determine this)¹¹, but if it is not marked there ~~with the abbreviation for the dialect concerned~~ you should see if it is indicated for the nearest 'main' dialect (or other adjacent dialect). In reverse it may be best to locate a 'main' dialect equivalent of the known (e.g. West Greenlandic) affix and take it as present with suitable phonological adjustment - also in the dialect concerned unless there is an affix on the alphabetical list for that dialect with the same (or similar) gloss as the West Greenlandic correlate. The

numbers following glosses on the alphabetical lists refer to the twenty six groups on the 'main' lists. Good hunting!

PRINCIPAL PHONOLOGICAL AND GRAMMATICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DIALECTS

In order to make sense of the lists, it is necessary to know how sounds correspond to each other between the dialects and how they alternate within each dialect depending on the stem to which affixes beginning with them are joined. The following summary is based on what information I have been able to gather to date,¹² and the exact geographical distribution of some of the features I mention (as reflected on the following isogloss maps) may not be quite accurate any more - the language is, after all, a living and vigorous one, changing all the time.¹³

1) GREENLAND

For an overview of the differences between dialects within Greenland Robert Petersen's contribution to 'Grønland' (1975) can be recommended. The information I shall present here is largely based on that source but also includes an explanation of how the sound correspondances concerned relate to the items on the affix lists plus indication of morphophonemic variation for individual affix types.

The phonological differences between the three principal Greenlandic dialects (West Greenlandic, East Greenlandic and Thule/Polar Eskimo) are probably as great as those between any two Inuit dialects in the rest of the Arctic and Sub-Arctic, but as regards affixes there is surprising uniformity - due to some degree no doubt to the prestige and (in recent times) ubiquity of the majority central West Greenlandic dialect as the written and broadcast language. Of course even within West Greenlandic itself there are affixes specific to sub-dialect regions: these are mentioned primarily in the footnotes to the main list, which represents most directly the central dialect area stretching from Nuuk to Sisimiut. But by and large most of the affixes on that list are understood in all areas of Greenland - though, especially in the case of East Greenlandic, they may appear in strikingly different phonological guise.

I shall presume that the phonological value of the orthographic symbols used for West Greenlandic on the list are familiar to the reader.¹⁴ The forms listed are, as throughout the manual, those found following a vowel stem. Unless preceded by a plus sign '+' they cause the final consonant of a consonant stem to be dropped (but an initial /g/ is changed to /r/ following an r-stem).¹⁵ A '+' indicates that the initial consonant of the affix fuses with a preceding consonant to form a cluster. Elements found only after a vowel stem (e.g. the /r/ in +(r)pallag) are put in brackets, as are optional extensions of

the affix(e.g. the first element in (pilu)rujussuar) and 'half-transitivizing' morphemes (preceded by a dash) such as si in+tit(-si)¹⁶. A raised plus sign after an affix indicates 'transitive' and a negative sign 'intransitive'; all other affixes are neutral in this respect. Equivalent forms or alternative glosses are separated by an oblique '/', and less productive (but commonly encountered) affixes are listed when not dealt with in a footnote - with the whole item in brackets. I have underlined those occurrences of /s/ (i.e. the phoneme symbolized as 's' orthographically) which are pronounced as a palato-alveolar [ʃ] by some speakers in the central dialect area¹⁷ and which corresponds to /j/ or /ʒ/ in Canada and Alaska (see below). An underlined initial /l/ is one that disappears causing gemination of the preceding consonant when the affix is added to certain stems (e.g. liri underlying ujaqqirivug, 'he is working with stone') and in general fuses with a preceding /t/ to give /s/. An underlined /j/ is one that alternates with /t/ following a consonant stem (e.g. juar ~ tuar). Other regular morphophonemic alternations are those for +/v/ ~ /p/ following a consonant; +/g/ and +/j/ ~ /k/ following a consonant (but in the former case with /r/ following an r-stem); and +/s/ ~ /t/ following a consonant. Affixes beginning with /t/ alternate with /s/ following an 'i₁' (see under Alaskan Iñupiaq below), with or without an intervening consonant (thus nirisippaa, 'he let him eat' against isirtippaa, 'he let him enter'). Irregularities in morphophonemic variation for individual affixes are mentioned in footnotes. The only point regarding the orthography that needs to be stressed for those more familiar with Canadian and Alaskan dialects is that all geminate (doubled) consonants in West Greenlandic are voiceless - thus orthographic 'll' is pronounced much the same as the combination I orthographically represent as 'tʃ' (as opposed to voiced 'dl') in many other dialects, and this includes the combination 'rl' [ʃʃ] where the 'l' is also a voiceless geminate.

Within West Greenlandic there are four (or five) main sub-dialect areas, all mutually comprehensible, though with some difficulty for speakers of the two inner ones (central West Greenlandic and Kangaatsiaq-Uummannaq¹⁸) in understanding the outer ones, namely Upernavik in the north and at least the southern-most variety of the South Greenlandic dialect(s) around Kap Farvel.¹⁹ Both the outer sub-dialects replace central W. Greenlandic /u/ with /i/ under certain conditions: in general one can state that a /u/ is preserved in these sub-dialects (plus East Greenlandic) only (a) in initial syllables, (b) following /m/

or /p/ (thus immuk), (c) after a syllable with /u/ due to (a) or (b) (thus : immussuaq), and (d) ^{In S. Gr.} (at least as ^a tendency ~~in S. Gr.~~) before a syllable with /u/ unless there is an intervening labial consonant (thus irnisuttuq, 'giving birth' but irnisippuq, 'she gives birth')²⁰. In these dialects one thus finds alternations in the form of affixes such as kkut (following syllables with original /u/) ~ kkit (following other vowels). For further details see Rischel (1975).

Other distinctive traits of the Upirnavik sub-dialect are the nasalization of central /g/ and /r/ to /ng/ and /r̃/ respectively, often /ss/ for central /ts/ ^{and} /ts/ for central /ss/ (or /ss̃/); ^{-except after /r̃/} and the devoicing of geminate fricatives only in the case of /ll/ /rr/ /gg/ and /vv/ of central W.Greenlandic are represented instead by /qq/ /kk/ and /pp/ - as also in East Greenlandic. The Kangaatsiaq-Uummannaq sub-dialect is distinguished from central W.Greenlandic by the nasalization of /g/ to /ng/ (though there is some fluctuation in ^{northern Disko Bay}); the replacement of /tsa/ and /tsu/ by /tta/ and /ttu/, and a flapped variety of /l/ in intervocalic position (also found at Upirnavik)²¹. North of Nuuk ^{as far as Nuussuaq} there is a lengthening of final syllables in yes/no questions (with rising intonation), whereas from Nuuk southwards (as also north of Nuuk ^{suaq}) there is a final fall in such questions and, in Nuuk and south, a tendency to drop vowels in open, non-initial syllables (and indeed whole final syllables) in fast speech.²²

Characteristic of the southern sub-dialect(s) as spoken from Qassimiut south (besides the treatment of /u/) is the shortening of geminate consonants following ^a long (or double) vowel (e.g. aama instead of aamma) - a voiceless single fricative may thus correspond to a voiceless geminate in central W.Greenlandic (e.g. [naax̥a], 'no', where [x̥] is the voiceless counterpart of /g/). Specific to Paamiut is the distinction between /s/ and /s̃/ (as for some central dialect speakers) and the representation of central /ua/ by /ava/ (thus inissavaq for inussuaq). The Kap Farvel sub-dialect is further distinguished by the nasalization of /g/ to /ng/ and the replacement of central /gg/ and /vv/ (orthographic 'ff') by /kk/, of central /rr/ and /rv/ by /qq/, and of central /ll/ by a voiced retroflex geminate [ɖɖ].²³ Examples of these correspondances will be found in Petersen's article. Note that the indicative inflections in -vuq, etc., often appear as -guq, etc., in the southern dialect area.

East Greenlandic, apart from being an 'i'-dialect' and defricativizing original geminate fricatives (as at Upirnavik), is characterized by the advanced neutralization of a number of the contrasting conson-

ant phonemes of West Greenland, which is ~~what~~ makes recognition of many of the affixes it shares with the latter difficult to recognize at first sight.²⁴ West Greenlandic /t/, /l/ and /s/ have all become /l/ (a flapped lateral as in North-West Greenland and, optionally, Eskimo) - thus pulit and alaani for W. Greenlandic puisit and ataani -, whereas the corresponding geminates have all become /tt/ - thus itti for West Greenlandic illu or issi (cold). The effect of these neutralizations can be seen in the varying forms of affixes such as liq following a vowel but (t)tiq following a consonant ('have a bad'). /g/ and /r/ are nasalized to /ng/ and /r̃/²⁶ Intervocalically (e.g. piiripput corresponding to W. Greenlandic piirupput). Voiceless stops are often weakened between vowels to the corresponding voiced fricatives (thus nugappiaq for W. Greenlandic nukappiaq), and single voiced consonants - especially nasals between two like vowels - often disappear intervocalically²⁷ (thus iik for W. Greenlandic inuk and tiivaa for W. Greenlandic tiguvaa, the /v/ - as also in Thule - being bilabial, while it is now more usually labio-dental in W. Greenlandic).²⁸ /t/ is not affricated to [c] before an /i/,²⁹ but initial and becomes a palatalized [tʃ] (almost [tʃ]) here geminate /s/ in W. Greenlandic represented by 'c' (e.g. culi) but by 'ts' when geminated³⁰ (cf. the future affix tsa). There are many differences in stem vocabulary between East and West Greenlandic (due in large part to naming taboo in the former),³¹ but influence from written and broadcast West Greenlandic is strong today (perhaps more so in Ammassalik than in Scoresby-sund) and forms coming from the west may be met, especially amongst younger speakers. It should be noted that the ablative and instrumental cases have fallen together as -mi(k), final stops being unexploded or zero³² (though Thalbitzer's transcription shows earlier nasal implosion). Diphthong assimilation has gone even further than in W. Gr. since even final /ai/ has become /aa/³³.

Thule (or Polar) Eskimo is phonologically more archaic and thus closer to Canadian Inuktitut (especially the western varieties) than the other Greenlandic dialects. It has retained the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ (elsewhere merged with /aa/) and has maintained (partially)

unassimilated consonant clusters - thus appa([axpa]) corresponding to W.Greenlandic appa and iglu([iɣlu])³⁴ to W.Greenlandic illu. Particularly characteristic phonetically is the sound /h/ (varying from [ɣ] to [h] but centered around [c]_h^{intervocally}) corresponding to W.Greenlandic /s/ or /s/- a trait shared with many western Inuktitut dialects (thus hiku for siku)³⁵. The combination of /g/ plus /h/ (orthographic 'gh') is a geminate velar fricative [xx], and that of /r/ plus /h/ (orthographic 'rh') a geminate uvular fricative [XX]. /t/ is not affricated before /i/ and, as in certain Inuktitut dialects (and in Egede's day elsewhere in Greenland), final stops fluctuate with final nasals - thus dative -mun or -mut (the former tending to be unexploded). As with East Greenlandic grammatical differences from West Greenlandic are minimal. The negative counterpart of the contemporative mood is -nngidluni, etc. (or -nngitluni - see footnote 34)³⁶ rather than -nani, etc., and, as in other, non-Greenlandic, dialects, participial forms in -tuq or -gaa, etc. are often used in independent indicative sentences. Third person ^{singular} possessive morphemes have the forms -nga and -ngit after double vowels as in (cf. W.Gr. -va, etc., after /aa/) Canada, and the dual forms of verbal and nominal inflections, lost in the rest of Greenland except - to some degree - in the sub-dialects north of the central area, are preserved in full at Thule. The passive agent ('by someone') is in the dative rather than the ablative case as in West Greenlandic. Also characteristic is the expressive stress often occurring in unexpected places (esp. the penultimate syllable) and the blurring over of unstressed syllables that can result.

The list of affixes specific to Thule has been derived principally from Holtved's 'Polar Eskimo Texts' (1951), whereas that for East Greenlandic has been drawn principally from a list of correspondances prepared by Niels Grann (Institut for Eskimologi, unpublished) supplemented by various texts including Thalbitzer's (1923). Of the numerous works available on affixes in central West Greenlandic (e.g. Kleinschmidt, 1871, Schultz-Lorentsen, 1917, J. Petersen, 1951, Bergsland, 1955, Aageson, 1975, Berthelsen et al., 1978), it should be pointed out that these

sources -except for the last-named, which by no means contains all currently productive affixes -include archaic and fossilized affixes and therefore cannot be taken to reflect contemporary usage without certain reservations.

2 EASTERN CANADA

Although the Inuit dialects spread across the vast expanses of the North American Arctic coastline form a fairly gradual continuum, it is convenient to break them up into three main areas as I have done. Thus it is reasonable to draw the line between eastern and western Inuktitut between the N. Baffin-Aivilik dialects on the one hand and the Caribou and Netsilik dialects on the other. At Rankin Inlet, situated on this border, speakers from both sides have mingled, with Aivilik predominating. The principal isoglosses justifying this division are (a) the replacement generally of /s/ by /h/ to the west, (b) retrogressive uvular metathesis east but not west of the border (e.g. marr(u)uk, 'two', but malruk to the west), (c) certain conservative consonant clusters to the west, and (d) the presence of the glottal stop (Danish 'stød') to the west -though this latter is also typical of Itivimut in the east. The fact that Aivilik also is conservative as regards clusters and that there has been much mingling of Aivilik and Netsilik people in recent times tends to blur the sharpness of the boundary. The following description of the phonological differences between the eastern Canadian dialects is largely based on Dorais (1977).

Within this overall area the most important dialect distinction is probably that between Quebec plus Labrador, where 'Schneider's Law' applies, and Baffin Island (plus the Aivilik area of the west of Hudson

Bay), where it does not. This law states that consonant clusters (or geminates) cannot occur in successive syllables starting from the beginning of the word -thus Tarramiut unnukut from original unnukkut ('in the evening'). It accounts for such affix alternations as tsainar ('always') following a syllable beginning with a single consonant, but sainnar following one beginning with a cluster. The 'main' dialect for the eastern area, Tarramiut (spelt Taqramiut according to local orthographical convention), follows this law and this must be remembered when dealing with affixes in the eastern dialects which do not: on the list for Tarramiut I have put in brackets those consonants that will generally be omitted by Schneider's law but can be taken as remaining in those dialects sharing the affix where the law does not apply.³⁷ Thus ggi(r) (have/take with one), which appears in Tarramiut as ggi following a syllable beginning with a single consonant (or a vowel) - as in ulimautiggipug -, or as gir following one with a cluster - as in arnagirpug -, appears on Baffin always as unreduced ggir. Occasionally I have indicated both forms for Tarramiut when confusion with other affixes might arise.

Other conventions on the main list are the same as for West Greenlandic, except that an underlined /j/ indicates an initial /j/ (alternatively /g/ following a vowel) which alternates with /r/ following an r-stem and, optionally, with /ts/ following a t-stem (otherwise /g/). An underlined /g/ is one that is maintained following a stem in /r/ (but not +/(r)j/) (which is dropping). Note that affixes beginning with +/j/ - corresponding to West Greenlandic +/s/ - alternate with /t/ following a consonant, and that affixes with initial /v/ in Tarramiut (but not on Baffin) are more often dropping than in W. Greenlandic. The geminated form of /j/ is /dj/ and that of /l/ is /dl/³⁸, and the geminates /gg/, /vv/ and /rr/ are also voiced. I have kept orthographic 'r' before stops (rather than the I.C.I. convention of 'q' in this position) both to

maintain the parallel with Greenlandic and because the resulting sound is actually a phonetic fricative([x] before a voiceless consonant, [k] before a voiced one)³⁹, just as /g/ is phonetic [x] or [χ] in those dialects where it is not assimilated to the following consonant - thus Baffin igluqartunga ([iχloqaxtunga]) but Tarramiut idluqartunga. This gives a rather different effect from Greenlandic /r/ in this position, which is much more weakly pronounced. /r/ and /q/ cause the preceding vowel to be lowered in most Canadian and Alaskan dialects (but see Labrador below), though this is less pronounced than in West Greenlandic, where it is the principal effect of a syllable-final /r/.⁴⁰ I have not followed the I.C.I. orthographic practice of neutralizing consonant clusters to geminates 'tt', 'ss', etc., since this only really portreys the pronunciation of some speakers (esp. in Quebec and Labrador). Geminates corresponding to Baffin /g/ plus consonant are underlined on the list for Tarramiut. Original Eskimo voiceless /t/ (/l/ on Greenland except when forming geminate /ll/ with a preceding consonant) corresponds to Tarramiut /s/ - thus isuittuq corresponds to W. Greenlandic iluittuq and tikitsuni to tikilluni.⁴¹ A single /l/ following an /r/ is voiced. The linking consonant /ng/ precedes such affixes as u and innaq when following double vowels; it is always necessary following a vowel stem (or one in ag) with the third person possessive morphemes -(ng)a and -(ng)it.⁴² A distinction is made between the clusters /rn/ and /rng/ ([NN] or [Nŋ])⁴³ which is found in words that have undergone uvular metathesis such as paurngaq (which is also pronounced that way in Thule - and as paarngaq by some speakers of West Greenlandic). As elsewhere outside of Greenland /t/ is not affricated before /i/ and, moreover, it does not become /s/ following an original 'i₁' - thus itirpuq corresponding to W. Greenlandic isirpuq,⁴⁴ and the inflection -tuq, etc., which does not alternate with -sug. W. Gr. /tsi/ corresponds to /tsi/ or consonant plus /ti/ here (also Thule).

I have included the Itivimut^m dialect of the east coast of Hudson Bay and Belcher Is¹⁴.

(Schneider's 'Ungava')
 ands with Tarramiut_Λ in the stricter sense, as there would appear to be little difference in affixes between the two (those noted by Schneider are in footnotes to the main list). Phonologically it differs from Tarramiut, however, by the presence of the glottal stop replacing the first of two consonants in clusters with a following /j/, /v/, /g/ or /r/ -as in i'vit (you) for ibvit. It further has a phoneme similar to the English 'r' sound, which I write 'ž', instead of general eastern Inuktitut /j/ ('j₂' on the isogloss map).⁴⁵

Of the eastern Canadian dialects that of contemporary Labrador Inuttut is the most advanced phonologically, which makes it more unlike West Greenlandic to the ear than, say, N. Baffin-Aivilik to the north. Particularly noticeable is the neutralization (at least for younger speakers) of the velar/uvular distinction /g/ against /r/ (and in final position of /k/ against /q/). The distinction is now largely a phonetic (non-word-contrasting) one: original /g/ or /r/ are thus both pronounced as /g/ except when between (or at least preceded by) an /a/ (itself more open and retracted than the corresponding vowel elsewhere), when the uvular allophone will be heard. Non-fin_Λ^{-al} /q/ is however generally preserved -as in Tarramiut -as a uvular fricative [x].⁴⁶ I follow Smith's convention in this by using 'g' and 'k' for the neutralized phonemes. Thus siugak for W. Greenlandic siuraq (sand) and annak for W. Greenlandic arnaq (woman). Assimilation of consonant clusters has gone at least as far as in West Greenlandic -though not in an entirely parallel way. While Tarramiut has reduced /t/, /p/ and /k/ plus another consonant all to /t/ (voiced = /d/) plus consonant and even further to pure geminates⁴⁷, as for example in qadlunaag from earlier qablunaag, Labrador has further reduced /r/ plus consonant in the same way (as annak above). As regards the combination /r/ plus /s/ (or 'j₂') the result is /ts/ -thus umiatsuak for umiarsuag -while the combination with /ng/ produces /nng/. Alone of the non-Greenlandic dialects Labrador has unvoiced geminate

fricatives [ff] (Smith's 'pv'), [xx] and [XX] (both either 'gg' or 'qq' for Smith)⁴³ -e.g. ivvit [iffit] (you) and magguuk [maXXuuk] (two). The geminate /qq/ (Smith's 'kq') is pronounced [qX]. Contrasting with Tarramiut, Labrador also has the Greenlandic voiceless lateral /ll/, geminate or single -e.g. atłunaak (W. Greenlandic allunaag) but also iłuartuk (W. Greenlandic and Thule iluartuq). The special symbol 'ł' is thus required. The /v/ phoneme is now pronounced as a labiodental (as Tarramiut and it is also in the Baffin dialects generally). A notable feature of Inuttut verbal inflections is the generalization of the 'participial' forms -juk, etc. to position even after consonant stems (whose consonant is dropped) - thus tusajuk from original *tusartuq.⁴⁹ Similarly causative endings -gami, etc. are found even after t-stems (tikigami, etc.). Nouns originally in t now end in -tik (e.g. uumatik) and vowel-stem nouns now end regularly in -k (e.g. tuttuk). For further details and examples see Smith (1978). It should be pointed out that what has been said above concerns the contemporary colloquial language, not the archaic/biblical one (for which see Bourquin, 1891). The latter still persists in connection with religious institutions,⁵⁰ and possibly some of its affixes, not found in contemporary Nain dialect can still be heard among older people - and in the rather conservative sub-dialect of Rigolet in the south, where assimilation (except for final k/g neutralization) is similar to that in Aivilik, according to Dorais.

Moving north of the limit of Schneider's law, it is debatable as to how many dialects/sub-dialects are present on southern Baffin Island,⁵¹ but they are all very close as regards affixes (and grammar) and I thus treat them as one dialect area. The affixes of Cape Dorset are a little closer to Tarramiut, while those of Frobisher Bay reflect a mixture of people from different adjacent dialect areas; as is the case with other larger Arctic centres such as Inuvik and Nome there is also considerable competition from English amongst younger speakers there. Characteristic for these dialects is the representation

of original /t/ by /t/ on Cumberland Peninsula (and older speakers elsewhere in South-East Baffin) and by /s/ at Cape Dorset (and some - younger - speakers at Frobisher Bay). Thus agtunaag/agsunaag corresponding to W. Greenlandic allunaag. The degree of assimilation of consonant clusters is the same as in North Baffin-Iglulik, namely /p/ (or /b/) plus a consonant has fallen together with /t/ (or /d/) plus a consonant (except that /p/ plus /s/ has become /ss/). But /g/ plus a consonant has remained (at least for older speakers) - thus aglu against Tarramiut adlu. The Cumberland Peninsula sub-dialect and Aivilik (for some speakers) have a wide pitch range when compared with the 'flatter' intonation of Tarramiut, for example. None of these dialects, however, has the typical rise on the last⁵² syllable of indicative sentences (and single words) of Greenlandic.

The North Baffin-Iglulik dialect is distinguished phonologically by the presence of /t/ again, as in Labrador, and by the absence of /ts/, this being replaced (as also in Aivilik ⁵³ except at Rankin Inlet) by /tt/ - e.g. nattiq (seal). Aivilik⁵³ (which Dorais regards as a sub-dialect of North Baffin-Iglulik) differs from the dialects mentioned so far by maintaining even more consonant clusters than at Iglulik, with /p/ (or /b/) plus consonant preserved as in qablunaag - though even here there seems to be a tendency among younger speakers towards complete assimilation of clusters (a process perhaps accelerated by the I.C.I. orthography)⁵⁴. Some speakers in all these dialects (plus South Baffin and Itivimmiut) fluctuate between final stops and corresponding nasals (e.g. dative -mun or -mut, 'participial' -juq or -jurng) but the forms with a stop seem to be winning ground everywhere. On Baffin (and Iglulik) and in Aivilik the third person possessive morphemes are either -a or -nga, etc. for all stems. Some words appear in N. Baffin-Iglulik with initial tis for original sit (e.g. tisamat, 'four').

An important grammatical trait distinguishing all the eastern

Canadian dialects from West Greenlandic is the use of 'participial' -jug, etc. (Greenlandic -sug) in independent indicative sentences alongside the 'narrative' indicative -vug⁵⁵, etc. There is also a transitive paradigm -jaa, etc. (or -janga, etc.) corresponding to indicative -vaa, etc. Following r-stems there are special forms of the indicative (and also the interrogative) in -gguq, etc. (Labrador -gguk⁵⁶, optional (alongside -vug, etc.) except in Labrador, where it is apparently obligatory following the affixes with final /r/ mentioned in footnote 46. There is a distinction between two forms of the contemporative mood, one -corresponding to the causative mood- for past actions, as in N. Baffin takudluni (seeing something)⁵⁷, and one -corresponding to the conditional- for the non-past (and also for imperatives), as in N. Baffin takuluni. Only in Labrador is the distinction tending to disappear (in favour of the 'past' forms). Unlike the case in Greenlandic, these forms can take third person object markers⁵⁸, thus -luniuk (4th sing.-3rd sing.) and -lunikku (4th pl.-3rd sing.). In Tarramiut at least one also finds 'repetative' forms of this mood with dla(r), both intransitive and transitive, usually followed by -lu (and). Thus, according to Trinel (19) itirlutit tiitudlapidlu (come in and have some tea). It is often translatable as 'and (subject) too'. The corresponding transitive forms are -dlama ('he too - me'), etc. -cf. the Iñupiaq 'contemporative' forms discussed below. Relative person endings are also used after conjunctive affix (m)ma as in tikimmangaat (whether he -3rd sing.-is coming).⁵⁹ The 3rd sing.-3rd sing. form of the indicative on Baffin is -vauk,⁶⁰ whereas this can only be the interrogative form in Tarramiut, corresponding to indicative -vaa. The latter dialect has, on the other hand, -(m)mauk for the 3rd sing.-3rd sing. causative (-(m)magu on Baffin). All these (and the western) dialects have the full dual paradigms⁶¹, though they are apparently losing ground amongst younger speakers in Labrador and Frobisher Bay at least.⁶²

Other grammatical divergences from West Greenlandic concern for

example the use of the dative case for the agent of a passive sentence in Quebec and Labrador; in N. Baffin the ablative is used as in Greenland, and in Aivilik both are found.⁶³ ~~Especially in North Baffin-Aivilik~~ 'half-transitivizing' affixes seem somewhat less used than in ^{W.} Greenlandic, the stem on its own often being either transitive or intransitive where the latter dialect would not use the plain stem intransitively (thus takudluni above). ~~Moreover,~~ Proper names can be used in the instrumental case as the object in half-transitive constructions ^{Canada in} (e.g. Piitamik takuvuq), which is impossible in Greenlandic.⁶⁴ The plural of nouns has everywhere been generalized to -it and ^{the relative sing. to} -up after stems ending in a single vowel (^{placed} \pm consonant). In Tarramiut 4th pl. possessive -tik (absolute) has been replaced by -nni.⁶⁵ Finally, in Tarramiut and Labrador case endings can be added directly to first person singular possessed nouns-e.g. nunagani (in my country).⁶⁶ Irregular declension of nouns has been largely leveled in all these dialects.⁶⁷

Sources for the lists in the eastern Canadian area are, above all, Schneider's compendious 'Dictionnaire des Infixes de l'Esquimaux de l'Ungava' (1968), which, although a little difficult to consult due to the orthographic conventions based on the syllabic script, contains information on Aivilik and Caribou as well as exhaustive information on Wakeham Bay Tarramiut. For Labrador Smith's 'Survey of the Derivational Postbases of Labrador Inuttut' has been invaluable, while for Baffin I have made much use (with some adjustment of detail) of Harper's 'Suffixes of the Eskimo Dialects of Cumberland Peninsula and North Baffin Island' and Dorais' unpublished list for Cape Dorset. I have also consulted Spalding (1969) for Aivilik (and Iglulik).⁶⁸

3) WESTERN CANADA

All the western Canadian dialects (with the exception of Mackenzie) are distinguished by the replacement of /s/ by an h-like sound. This is particularly characteristic of Copper (called locally 'Inuinartut')⁶⁹ since this dialect has also replaced original /t/ by this sound -thus ihuartug corresponding to Netsilik -and N. Baffin ihuar-tug, and the 'past' contemporative ending -huni, etc. found after a g- or r-stem. In consonant clusters formed with it voiceless fricatives are produced, orthographically 'ph', 'gh' and 'rh' ([ff] or more precisely [ɸɸ], [xx] and [XX]). Copper dialect has all the conservative clusters of Aivilik plus ones with /l/ and /t/ as first member (/lv/, /lg/, and /lr/, and /tp/, /tk/ and /tq/). I write 't' rather than 'd' (which would parallel 'g' and 'r' before consonants) since it clearly cannot be fricativized in the same way as /k/ and /q/ before stops. I also write 'p' before a voiceless stop as it does not occur in most eastern dialects in this position and the fricative pronunciation of both /p/ and /k/ before voiceless stops seems more commonly to be a stop than further east (though I keep 'g' to underline the continuity of the transition between east and west here). /b/ used before a voiced consonant may be a fricative or a stop; in the former case it falls together with bilabial /v/. /j/ has corresponding geminate /dj/ (as in plurals in -djat corresponding to those in -ssat in W. Greenlandic) with the same quasi-geminate pronunciation as in eastern Canada (the same is true of /dl/); but note also the possibility of /bj/ as in the affix bjag (rather) and of /gj/ as in nagjuk (antler). Original /ts/ is /tt/⁷⁰ and final /p/ and /t/ (not /k/ or /q/) fluctuate with the corresponding nasal depending, at least as a tendency, on the following consonant (nasal before nasal, stop before stop, but either before a vowel, rather freely). Original /lr/ and /nr/ are maintained.⁷¹

On the list for Copper an underlined /l/ fuses with the stem as

for other dialects, and an underlined +/n/ (following a vowel or t-stem) alternates with /g/ (or /r/) following a stem ending in /g/ (or /r/). Affixes beginning with /tq/ alternate with /qq/ following r- or g-stems. Those with +/j/ alternate with +/g/ (or /r/) following a g- (or r-) stem, and with +/t/ following a t-stem. Those in +/j/ alternate with +/t/ following a consonant, but, as in other dialects, passive participle +jaq is rather idiosyncratic (with alternatives gaq after r-stems) and taq (after g- and r-stems). The alternative participial forms haq and huq can still be heard at Holman Island apparently.⁷² The expected clusters occur with affixes beginning with +/g/ and +/v/ (alternating with /k/ and /p/). The linking consonant between morphemes beginning with a vowel such as u (be) ~~son possessive -a~~ and a stem ending in a double vowel is /ng/ (cf. W. Gr. /j/ before u in such cases).

As regards grammatical peculiarities, note that 'participial' forms in -juq, etc. (transitive -jaa or, less commonly, -gaa, etc.) have largely replaced the indicative in -vuq, etc., though the latter is still found after affixes dja and gi. 'Past' (or 'completive') versus 'non-past' (or 'non-completive') forms of the contemporative mood are present, as is the full array of dual inflections. On unpossessed nouns the dual often causes gemination in the preceding syllable (as does plural -t) - e.g. nannuk (two bears). The causative form -(ng)mani (fourth person object) is found here but apparently no further east in Canada. The interrogative 3rd sing. - 3rd sing. is -vauk and the 1st sing. - 3rd sing. -vigu. The passive agent is in the instrumental case⁷³ while the instrument is in the dative. The causative mood has forms like -nami after a t-stem (as also in eastern Canada); note too the conditional/causative 2nd sing. - 3rd sing. forms -gungni/-gangni and the 4th person conditional -gumi(k). There are alternative forms of the indicative following r-stems in -gguq, etc. (paralleled by imperative and interrogative -g qit/-g qiuk, etc.)⁷⁴. The 3rd sing. - 3rd plural 'participial' (or indi-

cative) is -jai or -jait (or -vai/-vait).⁷⁵

The Netsilik (i.e. nat̥silik) dialect, spoken from Pelly Bay to Gjoa Haven (and including the Utkuhsalingmiut sub-dialect originally of Chantry Inlet) has come under the influence of more easterly dialects - which is also true of younger speakers at least in the traditional Caribou area. This is especially true at Spence Bay, which has absorbed several families from Cape Dorset. It is characterized in its original form by the representation of /s/ by sounds varying between [ʃ] (especially after a consonant) and [h] - most commonly a palatal fricative [ç] - in a manner reminiscent of Thule, and by the appearance of original 'j₂' as /z/.⁷⁶ It has the glottal stop as in Caribou (see footnote 79) though according to Webster and Zibell regularly only in onomatopoeic and exclamatory words. /ts/ is pronounced [cc] or perhaps more accurately [tt̚].⁷⁷ The fluctuation between final stops and nasals is less common here than in Copper (stops prevailing). The ~~unusual~~ clusters /z̥g/ and /z̥r/ can be found corresponding to Copper /lg/ and /lr/, Mackenzie and Caribou /jg/ and /lr/ (and eastern /gg/ and /rr/) - e.g. in aqižgig (ptarmigan), the same form as in Alaska. Though metathesis of /lr/ to /rl/ (or /rr/)⁷⁸ has not occurred, /nr/ has developed into /nng/ - thus upinngaq (spring). For some speakers (especially Spence Bay?) /q/ is heavily fricativized to [x]. Agreeing with N. Baffin, a number of words in Netsilik with original /t/ have /s/ (> /h/) - e.g. ihirpug (he enters), N. Baffin isirpug. The indicative in -vug, etc. is more widely used than in more westerly dialects. Copper -gumi is here -guni.^{4th sing. conditional}

The Caribou dialect(s) spoken by the Qairnirmiut of Baker Lake, the Paadlirmiut of Eskimo Point (and Whale Cove) and other people who have come down to the coast of Hudson Bay from the interior, is particularly marked by the presence of the glottal stop, as in qi'mid - 'naaqalir'mat (because she had got a small dog), where '.' indicates the glottal stops. It would seem to occur rather frequently/repla-

what in other dialects is a simple
 cing -or simultaneous. with- ⁷⁹nasal or fricative(including /r/</q/)bef-
 ore another in clusters, though with some younger speakers it would
 seem to be regularly present only with certain morphemes -e.g. dnaaq
 (['naaq], 'small') ~~or the causative mood -r'mat~~, etc. As elsewhere for
 dialects with glottal stops I do not indicate them on the list(histori-
 cally at least they are predictable) except in the case of the note-
 able combination of glottal stop plus /n/, as in the affix quoted
 above, ^{symbolized}by 'dn'; it occurs rather frequently corresponding to Copper
 /nn/. The dialect is also characterized by the dropping of final syll-
 ables in rapid speech(also found in southern Greenland and at Cape
 Dorset at least in Canada). This seems to be related to the prevailing
 intonational pattern(especially for Paadlirmiut?) ⁸⁰with deep falls
 from high level 'plateaus' clause-finally. Younger speakers at least
 have /j/ instead of /ʒ/, /ɬ/ in words like ikuartuq, and ~~/nng/~~ (or /rn/
 for original /nr/. ⁸¹The latter seems to represent a shift from Rasmu-
 ssen's time. ⁸²/ts/ has been preserved as at Rankin Inlet(perhaps more
 accurately ^{or even} [cc] ⁸³[tʃ]). Both -jug and -vuq are used side by side for the
 indicative. The causative -gami, etc. and also the transitive participial
 -gaa, etc. appear to have alternative dropping forms(hence the com-
 binations nngigami and ligaa) and dropping passive participle form
 (nl. -kkat) ⁸⁴gag is more common here than to the east. The attachment of dative case
 ending -mut directly to verbal stems to indicate cause(also found
 further east) is noteworthy.

The original Mackenzie dialect(as represented in Rasmussen's
 texts from that area) ⁸⁵is still spoken by older people at least in
 Tuktuyaktuk, Paulatuk (and probably also at recently established Sachs
 Harbour), and Aklavik (where, as in Inuvik, Alaskan Inupiaq has made
 strong inroads). 'Inuvialuktun', as the language is called in this
 region, may be regarded as a range of closely related sub-dialects
 resulting from the immigration of Inupiaq speakers, ⁸⁶especially strong

at the beginning of the present century. Characteristic of the original dialect is the maintenance of original /s/ and /ts/ ⁸⁷. /j/ appears intervocalically rather than Alaskan /z/ ⁸⁸, final stops fluctuate with corresponding nasals /m/ and /n/, original /t/ has remained ⁸⁹, and, as in most of Canada and Seward Peninsula Inupiaq, /t/ has not become /s/ after an 'i₁'. Particularly characteristic is the use of alternative forms in -juag, etc., alongside 'participial' -jug, etc. (both can be used in indicative sentences); the transitive equivalent is, as in Alaska, either -jaa or -gaa, etc. The language ^{apparently} has ^{Delta} become somewhat simplified in structure amongst younger ^{Delta} speakers who still use it, and some of the affixes on the list for this dialect may not now be used by them. ⁹⁰

Sources for the lists in the western Canadian area (besides my own field work, centered on Coppermine) have been Rasmussen's Fifth Thule Expedition texts (1931) ^{etc.}, Schneider for Eskimo Point especially (1968), Métayer's 'Inupkaat' for Copper (1973) ^{and unpublished dictionary for the west}, and, with many reservations, Webster and Zibell (1970) and Birket-Smith (1928). Supplementary texts from Baker Lake and Eskimo Point have also been examined, as ^{made} have the tape recordings from the Mackenzie Delta ^{Delta} by Laurent Christensen and by myself.

4) ALASKA

The 'main' dialect for this westernmost area is North Slope Iñupiaq as spoken at Barrow, a blend of inland (Nunamiut) and coastal (Tariurmiut) dialects not quite the same as the original dialect of Point Barrow (still to be heard among older people there). One of the principle distinguishing features of North Slope (and Kobuk) Iñupiaq is its palatalized consonants /l̥/, /t̥/, and /ñ/ (pronounced roughly as [l̥ʲ], [t̥ʲ] and [n̥ʲ]); the symbols are those used in Alaska today. They are found, with few exceptions, following an original 'i₁',⁹¹ as in ila (relative), siglaq (pick) and iñuk (human being). For the sound /ž/ (like American /r/ or, for older people, more like French /j/ in 'jé'), which corresponds to West Greenlandic /s/, I prefer the symbol used elsewhere in the manual for it rather than the ~~orthographie~~ 'r' used in the Iñupiaq orthography (it uses 'g' for the general Eskimo /r/). When doubled it remains voiced, as do the other voiced fricatives. I also use 'j' rather than 'y' and 'ng' rather than 'ŋ', which, when doubled, I spell 'ngng' in order to distinguish it from /nng/ (/n/ plus /ng/), a distinction not necessary in other dialect areas where 'nng' represents geminate /ng/. The symbol 's' ('sr' in the Iñupiaq orthography) -
 found only following /r/ or /g/ in North Slope⁹² - is needed for the alveolar-palatal sound (approaching English 'sh', but retroflex like its voiced counterpart /ž/), as is 'č' (Iñupiaq orthography 'ch' or 't' between an 'i₁' and a consonant) for the initial sound in English 'church'. It corresponds to /t/ after an 'i₁' or an /s/ following a /t/ in other dialects.⁹² 'h' covers the same fricative sounds it symbolizes elsewhere, but is only found in combination with other consonants.⁹³ As for other dialects I have indicated the result of geminating /l/ and /t/ by 'dl' and 'tł' respectively (to avoid conflict with Greenlandic 'll'); in some instances /tł/ elsewhere corresponds to /dl/ in North Slope Iñupiaq.

Inupiaq as a whole is characterized by conservative consonant clusters (especially Kobuk). I have indicated syllable-final uvular and velar consonants ^{in clusters} as 'q' and 'k' respectively rather than 'r' and 'g' as further east since the principles of cluster assimilation are somewhat different: /q/ thus remains a stop before another stop and only becomes a fricative /r/ before a continu-^{ant} (pronounced [x] when the latter is voiceless).⁹⁴ To be precise, there is complete assimilation by manner of articulation: stop before stop, fricative before fricative, and -at least at Point Hope and Point Barrow^{as regards velars and uvulars} -nasal before nasal. Thus arvalugtug [axfalogtoq] (it is round), and taursirñiariga [tauXserñiariga] - Point Barrow⁹⁵ [tauXseNñiariga] (I will buy it). Following Inupiaq convention I write 'r' before /l/, /v/, /z/ or a nasal -but also before /s/, /š/ and /t/.⁹⁶ As regards the nasalization of final stops, note that this is not a general, free variation as further east, but concerns only certain endings (historically nasal) such as dative -mun, ablative -miñ, equalis -tun, causative -man, imperative -iñ,⁹⁷ relative case -m and nouns like angun (man). There is no nasalization in, for example, plural -ič⁹⁸ and instrumental -mik.⁹⁹ ~~Concerning the intonation, Webster reports that the strongest stress~~ The highest pitch in interrogative sentences comes on the final syllable, except in Barrow itself -as also in varieties of Inupiaq spoken in the Mackenzie Delta- where it can^{be heard} on the next to last, as in south West Greenlandic. Further information on the phonology of North Slope Inupiaq can be found in Kaplan's thesis (1979).

On the list of affixes for Barrow, an underlined /i/ or /u/ is one that does not truncate an 'i₂' (non-palatalizing /i/) in the preceding syllable (with assimilation as necessary), as affixes beginning with these vowels otherwise do -e.g. kamngužug (it is a boot) from kamik. The linking consonant /g/ (Kobuk and Seward Peninsula /ng/) for affixes like u (be) appears only after a long or double vowel. Underlined initial /s/ (different from W. Greenlandic /s/ note) alternates with /g/

(or /r/) after a stem ending in /k/ (or /q/), whereas it becomes +/č/ following one in /t/. Underlined /l/ is as for other dialects¹⁰⁰, but +/l/ indicates alternation with /t/ following a consonant (a special Inupiaq morphophonemic pattern), as in +liq/tiq (quickly). Underlined /q/ does not cause a preceding /t/ (but forms a cluster /tq/), and the same is true of underlined /ng/ (forming /nng/). +/j/ alternates with /g/ (or /kk/) following a k-stem (and with /r/ following a q-stem) but becomes +/č/ following a t-stem. +/ž/ alternates with /t/ after a consonant stem (/s/ after an 'i₁'), but that is not the case with affixes beginning with +(r)/ž/ (where the /r/ appears only following a vowel stem).

The Kobuk dialect (otherwise 'Malimiut')¹⁰¹ is close to North Slope¹⁰² as regards affixes and vocabulary in general but is distinguished phonologically by its special treatment of diphthongs. Thus N. Slope /ai/ and /ia/ are both pronounced as a long [e:], /au/ and /ua/ as [o:], and /iu/ as [i:], only /ui/ remaining as a diphthong. On the list for Kobuk the first of these is represented as 'ai', the second as 'au', and the third as 'ii' throughout. Spelling for the Kobuk dialect fluctuates rather between forms reflecting the pronunciation (such as I use) and the corresponding underlying diphthongs as found at Barrow (the latter is the preferred Inupiaq convention). The glottal stop also reappears in Kobuk (and in the Nunamiut dialect of Anaktavuk Pass)¹⁰²; it occurs regularly replacing the original initial consonant of the causative mood (thus -'ami, etc.) and is heard between a stop and a following sonorant (i.e. nasal, semi-vowel or liquid) in clusters like /tn/ [t'n]. Being automatic, this is not indicated on the list. Both /č/ and /š/¹⁰³ are found intervocalically as well as after consonants as in N. Slope (e.g. ašiaq, 'berry', N. Slope asiaq). There is even less assimilation in consonant clusters than in N. Slope (a trait it shares - though the rules differ - with the Seward Peninsula) and stops do not necessarily assi-

nts
 milate to following continua¹⁰⁴ according to manner of articulation -
 thus /t^hl/, /k^hl/, /q^hs/ and /k^hš/ ,for example, are maintained as such. In
 upper some words Kobuk has /č/, /j/ or /ñ/ where N. Slope has /k/, /g/ or /ng/ follow^{ing 'i₁'-}
 e.g. tikitčaa (he has come to it) against N. Slope tikičkaa (the second /i/ is
 an 'i₁', note) and piñasut against N. Slope pingasut.

Typical for the closely related dialects of the Seward Peninsula
 and Bering Strait islands¹⁰⁵ is the weakening of consonants in certain
 positions and the absence of the palatalized consonants /l̥/, /t̥/, /ñ/ and also /č/ (replaced by simple /l/, /t̥/, /n/ and /t/). This latter
 feature may be related to the fact that traces of the fourth proto-
 Eskimo vowel /ə/ (as in English 'the') are also to be found here, co-
 rresponding to non-palatalizing /i/.¹⁰⁶ According to Kaplan it is only
 on the Diomed Islands that /ə/ is still phonemic as in Yupik, though
 it probably only recently disappeared from the mainland too. /a/ some-
 times appears corresponding to /i/ (< /ə/) elsewhere. As regards conso-
 nant weakening, the stops /q/, /k/ and /p/ and also /s/ are reduced
 & /z/ and /l/ are reduced
 intervocalically to /r/, /g/, /v/ and /z/ respectively, and /g/ and /r/
 initial single vowel¹⁰⁷ (or zero)
 become zero (except /r/ after an) and /v/ becomes /w/ following
 syllables that in neighbouring Alaskan Yupik would be unstressed -
 mainly initial open ones or ones following either closed or long
 positions
 syllables. This tends to produce alternating 'weak' and 'strong' consonant
 (but there is no weakening after long/double vowels). Thus King Island
manniraqtuut (we have money) but maniraatugut (we have eggs). Except for
 after the first vowel of the word geminates are treated just as the
 corresponding single stops¹⁰⁸ as Kaplan puts it (personal communi-^{cation}: 'con-
 sonant length is contrastive only after the first short vowel of the
 word, otherwise consonants are longish in strong position, including
 after a long vowel or vowel cluster'. Thus even etymologically single
 consonants may be phonetically lengthened. In general consonant weaken-
 ing is thus avoided in any two successive syllables, and this explains
 the morphophonemic alternation of such affixes as qaa/raq above (N.S.
 where the former reflects the weakening of /q/ plus consonant.
qaa). I list the unweakened forms only. The diphthongs are as in N.S.,
 except that /ai/ is [e:] and /au/ is [o:].¹⁰⁹ /t/ remains following

'i₁' in such words as itigak (foot), where N. Slope and Kobuk, like West Greenlandic, have an /s/. The glottal stop is present as in Kobuk. King and Diomedé islands have metathesis of /nr/ and /lr/ to /rn/ and /rl/. A peculiarity of the Qawiaraq dialect of Fish River is the replacement of /s/ everywhere by /ç/.

Among grammatical differences from Greenlandic in the Inupiaq dialects is the indicative use of 'participial' -zug, etc. (transitive -gaa, etc.).¹¹⁰ This is even more pronounced than further east since the -yug indicative is limited to 'narrative' utterances describing vivid action, usually in conjunction with the adverbial kiisaimmaa (finally). The purely participial use of -zug has been replaced entirely by -zuag, etc., but that too has come to be used in purely verbal contexts - thus nirizuanga (I eat).¹¹¹ In this use it has a corresponding transitive paradigm -zaa (or -zanga), etc., consisting of the passive participle plus personal possessive endings (as Inuktitut -jaa). This also lies behind the forms MacLean^{calls} 'transitive participial I', which have the same endings (though no intransitive correlate) plus additional ones for a fourth person (reflexive) object, e.g. -za(ng)ata or -za(ng)aa (3rd sing. - 4th sing.) and -zani (4th sing. - 4th sing.). There are similar forms (MacLean's 'transitive participial II') based on kkag plus possessive endings (3rd sing. - 4th sing. -kkangan or -kkangasta). Both paradigms are used in nominal clauses (often corresponding to English 'that which/who -') or as independent sentences; thus tautungakqaput ('that which we have seen' or 'we saw it'). There are also three conjunctive paradigms (MacLean's 'contemporative I, II, and III'), which are only found sporadically further east¹¹² but appear quite productive in Inupiaq. They are built up on affixes dlaq, ngnga(q) and mma(q) respectively and take the same endings as Greenlandic kisimi, etc., in the intransitive (thus Kobuk aliasungnarmi, 'he, in sorrow'). In the transitive forms like -dlamni (4th sing.), -dlaan (3rd sing.) and -dlarma (1st

sing.) are used for any object. They generally indicate when, or in what state, the action of the main clause takes place. The full dual set of endings has persisted, ~~but is probably on the way out in some places~~. As in most forms of Canadian Inuktitut there is a distinction between 'completed' contemporative forms -vluni (~~-luni~~ after a voiceless stop) and 'incomplete/unrealized' ones -luni, etc.¹¹³ Note also gerund (verbal noun) -^vzuni/tuni as in niri^vzuni (eating).¹¹⁴

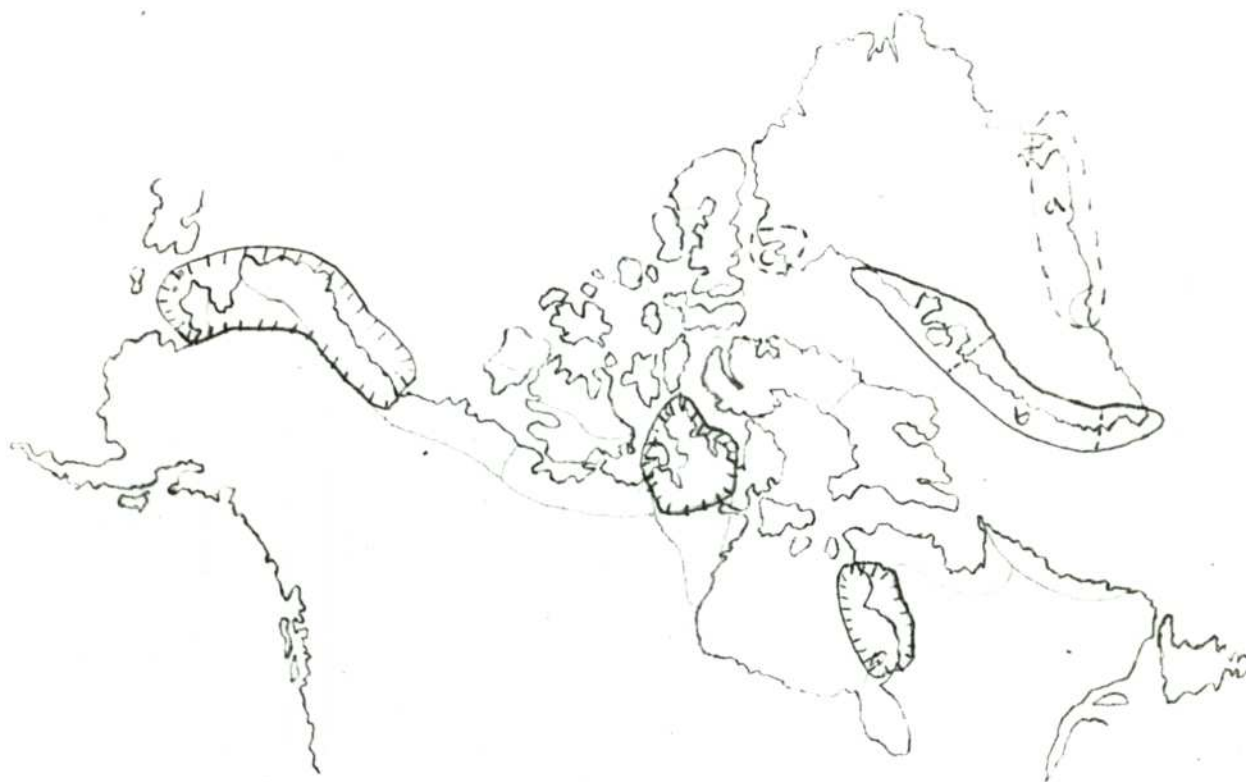
Alternative dropping forms of the causative mood such as -gami are found following .q-stems, and the fourth person singular conditional is -gumi (as Copper).¹¹⁵ The third person possessive marker is either -a or -nga (plural -it/ngat).¹¹⁶ A distinctive nominal construction is that with the affix tilaaq, which can form object clauses as in ugautigigaa nakuutilaanga (he said he was all right). The passive agent is generally not expressed. And finally, a number of enclitics and independent adverbial words appear with meanings rather surprising for those more familiar with eastern dialects. Thus aglaan ('but' or 'up to'), suli (and) and naagga (or).¹¹⁷


My principle source for the North ^{Slope} material is MacLean's list of affixes (hopefully to be published soon along with the forthcoming Inupiaq dictionary)¹¹⁸, supplemented by examination of various Inupiaq texts put out by the Alaska Native Language Center at Fairbanks. The latter, plus the 'Unipchaat' collected by Zibell have supplied examples of Kobuk usage, while for the Seward Peninsula (for which little published material ~~still~~ exists) Kaplan's unpublished list of affixes for King Island (close to the dialect of Cape Prince of Wales) has been invaluable. Holtved's tapes for Wales have also been checked.


DEGREE OF CONSONANT ASSIMILATION



- 1) Maximal non-assimilation
- 2) Regressive manner assimilation (no stops before continuants)
- 3) Fricative-plus-stops rather than stop-plus-stops (at least as tendency and especially as regards uvular-plus-stops)
- 4) /t/ or /l/ plus consonant assimilated regressively
- 5) /p/ (/b/) plus consonant merged with /t/ plus consonant (tending towards . geminate)
- 6) /k/ (/g/) plus consonant " " " " "
- 7) Full regressive assimilation (except for uvular plus consonant)
- 8) Full regressive assimilation and /r/ merged with /g/
- 9) As (7) plus merging of geminate /l/ (and 'j₂') with /tt/

REFLEXES OF 'J₂'

 'j₂' realized as /ž/(or [r̥]) (except some speakers at Spence Bay?)

 'j₂' realized as /s/

(a) /s/(from 'j₂') merged with /t/ and /l/ as 'flapped l' intervocalically

(b) /s/([ɬ]) distinct from /s/ for some (mainly older) speakers


(c) /s/ merged with /s/ as /h/

Elsewhere 'j₂' realized as /j/ (but /ž/ after consonants for some others in Keewatin)




REFLEXES OF /S/ AND /Q/



 /s/ realized as /h/ (or [ç]) - esp. Netsilik and Thule

non-final

 /q/ pronounced as [X] (also some Netsilik)

(a) /s/ realized as (palatalized) [ç] initially or when geminated

(b) /s/ realized as /č/

(c) geminate /s/ (or /s/) into /ts/ (at least partially)

SYLLABLE ADJUSTMENT LAWS AND INTERVOCALIC CONSONANT WEAKENING

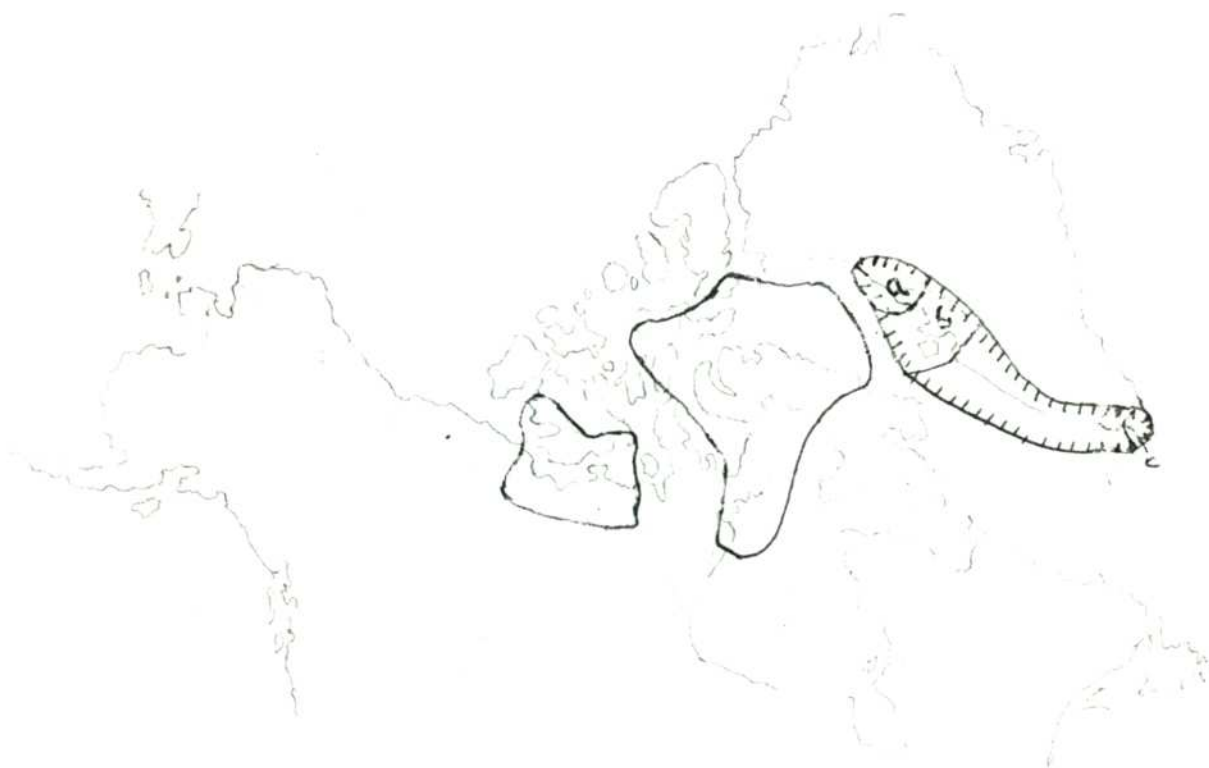



Syllable adjustment




Intervocalic consonant weakening alone

(a) Consonant weakening according to prosodic principles



 /ti/ = [t^si] and original cons. + /ti/ merges with /tsi/ (except older speakers south of Julianehåb)

 /ts/ into /tt/ (includes some speakers at Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay)

(a) CWGr/ ts/ into /ss/ (at least partially)

(b) " /ts/ into /tt/ only before /a/ or /u/

(c) " /ts/ into /tt/ -only for older speakers^{and} (except Nanortalik)

Elsewhere /ts/ is /t^vc/ (Alaska) or preserved as /ts/ and /ti/ is [ti]

PRESENCE OF GLOTTAL STOP AND DEVOICING OF GEMINATE FRICATIVES



Glottal stop (except some speakers at Spence Bay ?)




Devoicing of /gg/, /rr/ and /vv/



Devoicing and defricativization of " to /kk/, /qq/ and /pp/ (K. Farvel /kk/)

PALATALIZED CONSONANTS(AND /ə/)-THE RESULTS OF 'i₁'

 /t̥/, /t̥̃/, /t̥̃̃/, and /s/ (/ç/ finally or before cons.) from /t/, after 'i₁'

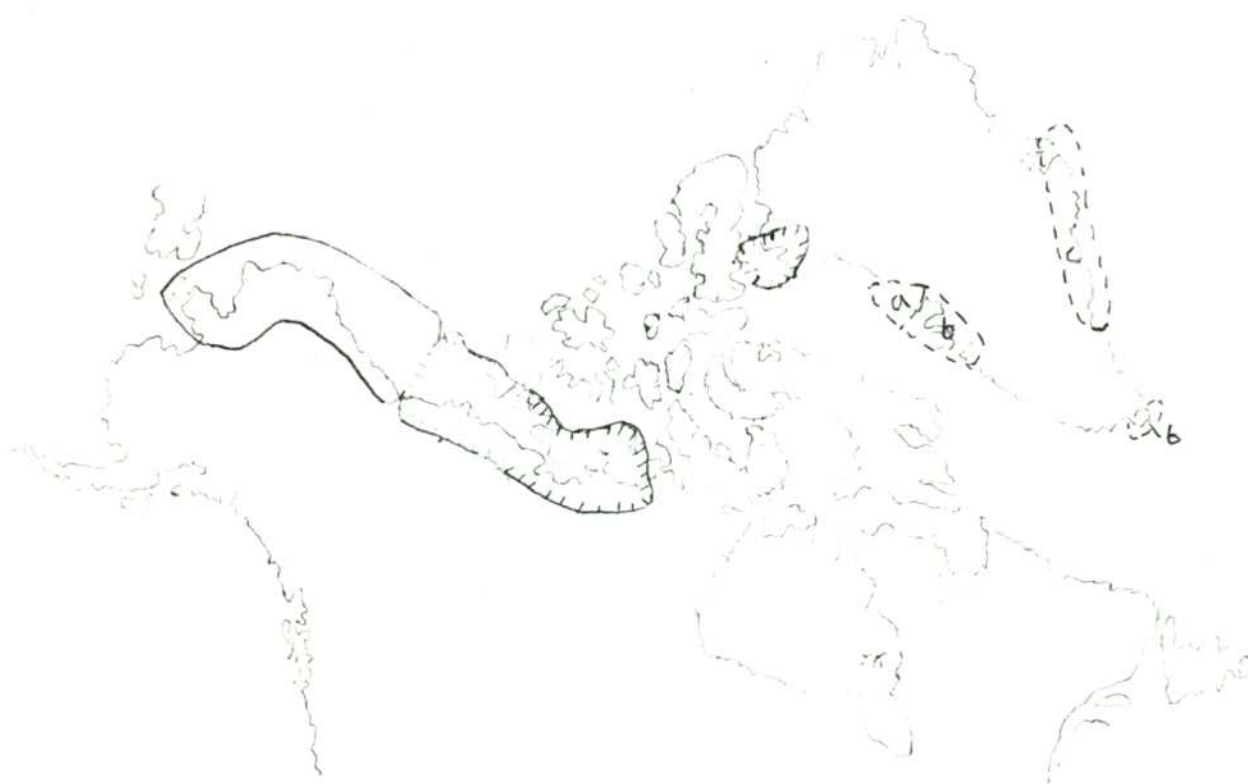
 /t/ into /s/(or /h/) after 'i₁' (except finally)

(a) /t/ into /s/ after 'i₁' only sporadically (especially North Baffin-Aivilik)

(b) Fourth vowel (/ə/- 'i₂')

(c) /t/ into /s/(/ç/ finally or before cons.) after 'i₁'

FINAL NASALS AND NASALIZED CONTINUANTS



ization



Final nasal₁ optional (also some speakers elsewhere in Canada)



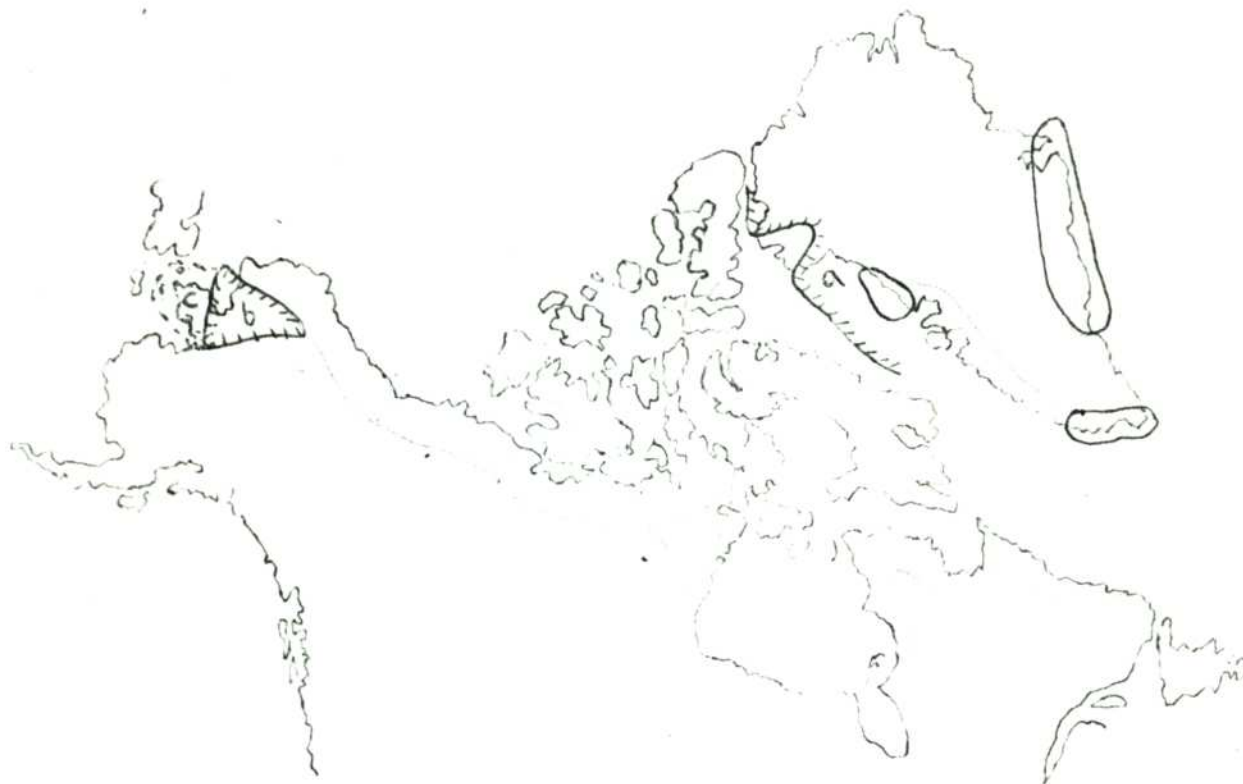
Final nasals ~~obligatory~~ in endings with historical nasals only

(a) /g/ and /r/ nasalized intervocalically to /ng/ and /r̃/

(b) /g/ nasalized intervocalically to /ng/

(c) /g/ and /r/ nasalized intervocalically and final stops unexploded (or zero)

DIPHTHONG REDUCTION AND 'I - DIALECTS'



Monophthongization of diphthongs



i-dialects(/u/ into /i/ in certain circumstances)

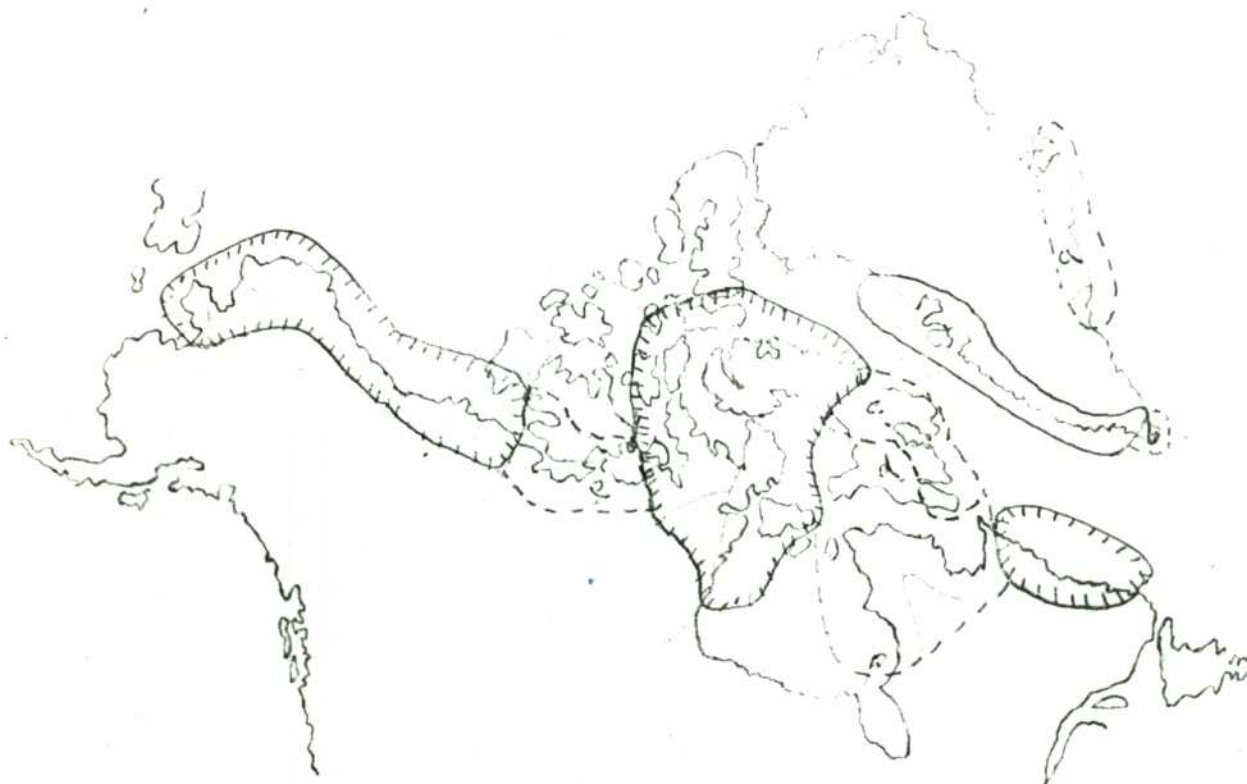
- (a) ~~Regressive~~ **Assimilation** of /ai/ and /au/ (and 'i₂+/a/) to /aa/
- (b) Diphthongs into [e[•]], [o[•]] and [i[•]] (but /ui/ retained)
- (c) /ai/ = [e[•]] and /au/ = [o[•]] only



Uvular metathesis

- (a) /lr/ into /rl/ and /nr/ into /rn/ ([^rnn] or -esp. Thule -[ln])
- (b) /lr/ into /rr/ and /nr/ into /rng/ ([nn] or [Nŋ])
- (c) /nr/ into /nng/ or /rng/, except some Caribou; /lr/ maintained or into /rr/

REFLEXES OF /ɛ/



Primary /ɛ/ retained

Secondary /ll/ ([ll]) only

- (a) Secondary /ll/ into /tt/ (or cons. plus /s/ < ^{*}/ɛ/)
- (b) " " " /dj/ ([dʒ])
- (c) Primary /ɛ/ into /t/
- (d) Primary /ɛ/ into /s/ (also some at Grise Fjord, Resolute Bay and Spence Bay)
- (e) " " " /h/

On Greenland primary /ɛ/ ^{has} merged with /l/ (except as (a) above)

FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION, ETC.

- 1) As opposed to the Yupik dialects of Alaska and Siberia, where differences in grammar and phonology are too great for treatment in this manner.
- 2) This is especially true of recently coined words (further complicated of course by loan-words from Danish in Greenland but from English elsewhere). See Dorais (1978) for Tarramiut and Labrador neologisms of this sort. But there are also important differences from Greenland in everyday words and phrases such as interjections, demonstratives and pronouns, adverbial expressions and even such basic stems as those for 'good' and 'understand'. In many cases the same word exists in a dialect but is used in a slightly different sense from its Greenlandic counterpart. Thus (almost at random) Tarramiut has a (yes), auka (no), asu (really?), manna (this -precise object) but una (this-vague) and inna (this/that -invisible), naumi (excuse me/let me be), na-dliaat (which of them), ilunnaat (all of it), and asia (another one). Iglulik-Aivilik has gujana (it doesn't matter/too bad) but gujannamik (thank-you), kisu (what?), nani (where?) and nakit (from where?), aakka (no), ii (yes), hii (lii) (isn't that so?), uaaq (wow!), aittaa (what a shame!), gauji-majunga (I know), tukisijug (he understands) and piujug (it's good). Copper has kilu (again), talva (then) and talvani (here), taamna (he/it), ingilraat (once upon a time), imanna (q) (no), hii (yes), anirtaq (yes indeed), ilaani-ptauq (goodbye), nauna (perhaps/I don't know), quvana or takiu (thankyou), kangirhimajug (he understands) and alianartug (it's fun/amusing). Barrow Inupiaq has azaa (wow!), kii (OK), kiita (ready?), atcuu (I don't know/it doesn't matter), alappaa (it's cold!), aang or ii (yes), naumi (no), azigaa (that's good!), alakkaa (that's bad!), amii (isn't that so?), ilaa (he/she plural ilingic), and nakuužug (it's good). For further correspondences (some rather out of date) see Birkett-Smith (1928).

- 3) In particular, I have only entered affixes under meanings actually encountered, which means that some affixes on the lists (especially for the western dialects) can probably appear in more 'slots' than is indicated (e.g. under group 22 as well as 15).
- 4) But with the important difference from the latter that syllable-final 'q' and 'k' ('r' and 'ng' before nasals) always appear here as 'r' and 'g' (as for Greenlandic) except finally. Thus my 'q' and 'r', 'k' and 'g', and 'p' and 'b' each ^{can be said to represent} the same phoneme (/q/, /k/ and /p/) in clusters before another consonant.
- 5) For an efficient common orthography for all dialects a rather wide margin of underdifferentiation could probably be tolerated - thus ~~/z/ could always appear as 'j'~~ and the special symbols for palatalized consonants in Inupiaq could be omitted, for example, without comprehensibility being seriously affected.
- 6) I use the terms 'Inuktitut' -spelt in the traditional way - and 'Inupiaq' in this narrow sense rather than as a cover term for all the Inuit dialects. The term 'Eskimo' is reserved as a linguistic term for the whole language group including Alaskan and Siberian Yupik.
- 7) I henceforth use this term also in the wider sense of 'derived base'.
- 8) This group of affixes changes the role relations of the subject, and thus includes transitivizers and intransitivizers (though causatives are under a separate group, the traditional category of 'double transitivizers' thus being broken up).
- 9) This also includes 'narrative' coloration affixes like Greenlandic gi (indicative gujuq) and imperative modifiers like niar (4). Such affixes always appear in the final 'slot' (see appendix on ordering).
- 10) These are of course only approximate equivalents - they should be checked with an English-Danish dictionary if in doubt, or better still with a bilingual Inuk!
- 11) Full morphophonemic variation (alternative forms of affixes following various consonant stems) is indicated on the 'main' dialect lists

only, but the principles involved generally apply to the other dialects within each main area.

12) West Greenlandic and Copper are the only dialects I have had direct contact with, apart from brief recording sessions with speakers of other western Canadian dialects at Yellowknife. Elsewhere existing printed material has been relied upon.

13) See the summary by Dorais in Inuktitut (summer 1976) for rather conservative population figures for the different dialect areas - but note that his 'Caribou' includes many Aivilik and the figure for Copper is underestimated (cf. the figures by area given in Ajurnarmat, summer 1978). He gives the following approximate percentages of the population speaking the Inuit language: North Alaska 55%, Mackenzie, Copper, and Labrador: 50%, rest of Arctic Canada 90% (probably less than this at Frobisher Bay, however), and Greenland 95%.

14) They can be checked in Bergsland (1955) and Rischel (1974), where a similar phonemic orthography is used.

15) Phonemic representations are between obliques, as here; phonetic ones between square brackets.

16) ^{Typical} following mood inflection type is also indicated in brackets in the case of 'conjunctive' affixes (group 23)

17) Though there is growing confusion of this with alveolar /s/ even here. Outside of the central area (and Paamiut) /s/ and /s/ are neutralized as /s/. ~~See Petersen 1976.~~

18) Including the Disco Bay area.

19) This is generally regarded as a distinct sub-dialect. Petersen further distinguishes the Nanortalik-Julianehåb from the Paamiut sub-dialect. In the footnotes to the list for W. Greenlandic 'South Greenland' refers to all these sub-dialects from Fiskerøsset south characterized by the 'i-dialect' phenomenon, just as 'North-West Greenland' refers to Kangaatsiaq-Uummannaq plus Upernavik.

20) This last does not apply to Upernavik and East Greenland across

morpheme boundaries, where forms like sikikkut against Kap Farvel sikukkut will be found (though within one morpheme two /u/s in successive syllables may be preserved). Thus the sequence /uC(C)u/ (where 'C' is any non-labial consonant) will generally be preserved in South Greenland (or sometimes become /iC(C)i/), but become /iC(C)u/ across morpheme boundaries in East Greenland and Upernavik. In the latter sub-dialect, note, /t/ is affricated to [c] before original /i/ but not before /i/<*/u/. In all the 'i-dialects' there tends to be an 'i-glide' before a /t/ following a long /aa/. Note [i^wi] from original /ui/- and [i^w] in general for /i/<*/u/ before another vowel.

21) And affix-initial /t/ is also less commonly assibilated in Northern C.W. Gr. to /s/ following an original 'i₁' than in central West Greenlandic.

~~appear on the list. Similarly W.Gr. riar can appear as iar, ajar (after /a/) or ujar (after /u/).~~

22) Around Disko and Uummannaq bays can also be heard a 'drawled' intonation over a wide pitch range. East Greenlandic too has a wide range and pronounced final rises (also in yes/no questions - with lengthened vowel).

23) And from Lichtenau fjorden south - except the town of Nanortalik - /ts/ is replaced by /tt/ before all vowels, at least for older speakers, who also do not assibilate /t/ before /i/ (these will thus not have a contrast between original /ts/ (e.g. nattiq) and original /tt/ (as in uattinni)).

24) Thus ttivag corresponding to W. Greenlandic ssuag and ttivar to lluar, ngilar to ngusar, ngig to gug and (t)ti to (l)lu, etc., all of which are regular correspondances and therefore do not appear on the list. Similarly W.Gr. riar can appear as iar, ajar (after /a/) or ujar (after /u/).

- 25) Although an ordinary alveolar /l/ can be heard corresponding to West Greenlandic /l/ (in recent borrowings from that dialect?). West Greenlandic /ll/ appears occasionally as consonant plus /s/ here - when it originates from consonant plus original /t/ (as in gitirsig, West Greenlandic gitirliq).
- 26) i.e. [N] as in (especially North) W. Greenlandic paarngaq (as opposed to some people's paarnaq), but short.
- 27) Only nasals and /j/ are dropped regularly between certain vowels (see Dorais, forthcoming), and then only within one morpheme - though (g)i (have as) and imperative (g)it often lose their consonant in any position (thus imperative -niaat<*niarit). Irregular dropping of other single consonants is found in words like siamat for *sisamat and iit (or iivit) for *inu(v)it, where the dropping of the nasal is however regular. Note also the combination /ira/ often goes to /a(̃)r̃a/ (e.g. in siañraq, 'sand'). Also, W. Gr. geminates sometimes correspond to E. Gr. /r/ plus consonant or vice versa - e.g. arnañraq or arniñraq (as in the text here) for W. Gr. annuraaq. The sequence /aCu/ occasionally becomes /ii/.
- 28) i.e. for those speakers who make a distinction between orthographic 'v' and a bilabial glide between /u/ and a following vowel. I write 'v' for a bilabial glide only between two /u/s (and in Paamiut /ava/).
- 29) But /t/ becomes /s/ following an 'i₁' as in W. Greenlandic - e.g. pisura(q) corresponding to W. Greenlandic pisuqaq (old). In W. Greenlandic also ^{in such forms} intervocalic /q/ tends towards /r/ in fast speech, as does /g/ (and also /j/ and /v/) to zero or a glide. E. Gr. (and Thule) maintain the distinction between original cons.+/ti/ and /tsi/.
- 30) There has been confusion recently between /ts/ corresponding to /ts/ and /tc/ (palatalized /ts/) corresponding to /ss/ in W. Gr. There is doubtless a merger between the two underway and I use 'ts' whatever the source of the combination. There is further confusion between /ts/ and /tt/ corresponding to W. Gr. /ss/ in a number of affixes (e.g. tsusiq corresponding to W. Gr. ssusiq where /tt/ is expected (a recent

phenomena?) /s/ following an /r/ is always /c/ - and is written as such in this manual.

31) Of the few differences in grammar, note the occasional use of fourth person possession marker -ni on the object of transitive verbs where W. Gr. would have the absolutive (thus Piitani urninniarpa, 'he will go to P.' - also line six of the E. Gr. text). Also the construction in uqartiivaanga urnikkinga (he said I'd gone to her), and the difference between nunannut (to my land) and nunannit (to your land), the latter reflecting *nunamnut with a labial. Note too the ~~confusion of~~ singular and plural object forms in the contemporative -ttungut (sing. object = -ttungu), and the use of the instrumental in-nngitsimik meaning 'before' (though with the confusion of final stops this could be the ablative or locative) and the use of 3rd person forms occasionally to express 2nd person in situations of direct address (acc. N. Grann).

32) In West Greenlandic too final stops tend to be dropped in rapid connected speech and some confusion between final /k/ and /t/ can arise - cf. ablative -miik in N. W. Greenland for -miit. The latter forms are replacing original -mit in purely spatial (not comparative) use. The Greenlandic form -minngaanniit found commonly on pronominal and place-name stems in this function should be pointed out. Note on the other hand that many vowel-stem nouns appear to end in /q/ in E. G. (e.g. sigiq 'ice') as the vowel quality reveals.

33) But /aa/ <*/au/ sometimes sounds as [a^w] and /aa/ from */ai/ as [a^j] according to Dorais (forthcoming). Note that E. Gr. has /j/ after /ii/, /ui/ or /aa/ <*/ai/ where in W. Gr. it has been replaced by an automatic glide. Some speakers have /v/ between vowels in words like uva[~]ra (W. Gr. uanga).

34) Or [ixlu] or even [iɬɬu] as in W. Greenlandic - there is fluctuation here, at least for clusters with a following sonorant. Geminate fricatives can also be voiced or voiceless. The ^{voiceless forms} may well be due to migration from the south and/or recent influence from the literary norm (West Greenlandic). /bl/ is found but more often than not sounds like [w^hdl] as in ga^wdlunaag (W. Gr. gallunaag).

- nada below
 /q/(or /k/) before another stop is not always fricativized (cf. under Ca-
 35) /ts/ is however preserved as such. In Savissivik (where Upirnavik
 influence is strong), this sound can be heard for W. Gr. /ss/ also.
- 36) As N. Baffin-Aivilik (besides -nani, the obligatory form in Tarra-
 miut); note indicative -nngigguq and 'participial' -nngittuq.
 Polar Eskimo contemporative forms are always -(d)luni, etc., with no
 distinction of tense (as for the rest of Greenland).
- 37) As elsewhere (especially in the secondary alphabetical lists)
 there are also some uncertain or optional elements (usually phoneme
 in Labrador at least
 length) in brackets. Note that in long words consonant clusters can be
 reduced even when not following a syllable with a cluster.
- 38) I follow Schneider's convention here in order to avoid confusion
 with W. Greenlandic voiceless /t/. /dl/ and /dj/ are phonetically
 somewhere between simple geminates of /l/ and /j/ and the clusters
 with an initial stop suggested by the spelling.
- 39) With the partial exception of the combination /qs/, which, as
 Schneider's fluctuating spelling suggests, can be either [xs] or
 [qs]. Note that W. Greenlandic /s/ corresponds to Inuktitut
 when from */qš/ or */kš/
 /s/ (Inupiaq /š/) following an /r/ or /g/ (otherwise to /j/ or /z/).
- 40) Related to this is the fact that Inuktitut /a/ before a non-
 uvular consonant is closer to its allomorph before a uvular than is
 the case in (especially central) West Greenlandic, where at, for
 example, is phonetically [ɛ t].
- 41) And the Tarramiut affix (occurring in many combinations) sar/tsa
 corresponding to Aivilik t^har and W. Greenlandic llar.
- 42) The old rule $i_2 \rightarrow a/_V$ is thus on the way out (cf. angutiuvuq or
angutaavug).
- 43) /r/ is regularly nasalized to [N] before a nasal in the
 eastern Inuktitut dialects, a pronunciation to be heard as far west
 as Copper. In Greenland /r/ (as before all consonants) tends rather
 to modify the preceding vowel and cause gemination in the consonant.
 Note also the regular metathesis/assimilation of 'j₂' plus /g/ to /gg/.
 (W. Gr. /ss/) as in aggait (hands).

- 44) The latter is also found in North Baffin-Iglulik, but the shift from /t/ to /s/ only occurs sporadically in some stems there.
- 45) This sound is also heard on the west side of Hudson Bay, especially amongst Netsilik but apparently as an allophone of /j/ also among older speakers at Iglulik, following consonants. This /j/ is distinct from ^{or fricative} 'j₁' as in gajag, which is a palatal semi-vowel in all dialects. The combination /rj/ is pronounced [rɕ] in all the eastern Canadian dialects. /ʒ/ is more like French 'j' at Great Whale River.
- 46) Except ~~finally~~ or combined/assimilated with a following consonant. This pronunciation is also to be heard in southern Baffin (and Spence Bay). For economy of symbols (the pronunciation being automatic) I keep orthographic 'q'. Morpheme-final uvulars in Labrador are maintained as such only in certain affixes in conjunction with the indicative forms in -quq, etc. (e.g. -niagquq). Such affixes are marked with an underlined /r/ on the list. There is considerable fluctuation as to which affixes act this way however.
- 47) An Alternative pronunciation of geminate /nn/ is [dn] (parallel to /dj/ and /dl/). Note that the combination /bv/ is generally preserved (but cf. ivvit below), as also in Tarramiut -my (and I.C.I.'s) 'vv'.
- 48) The latter an allophone of the former following an /a/ as described, though a voiced [ɣɣ] is heard for /gg/ at Hopedale. Amongst older speakers everywhere the velar versus uvular contrast may still persist (the /a/ being more like that of other dialects then), and /p/ (or /b/) plus consonant can be heard in certain words like qablunaak.
- 49) This also applies to the 'true' indicative in -vuk, etc. (the form -pug after consonants is archaic). Due to this a number of affixes such as gu (become) and i (freeze in one's-) appear always to lose the final consonant expected. Others vary - thus saviitaga or savii-jaga (I took his knife away). Note also the intransitive interrogative forms -viin (2nd sing.) and -vaan (3rd plural). Lengthening of the final syllable plus rising intonation is the normal way of forming

interrogative (and exclamatory) sentences. Note also the negative indicative -ngidlak (Tarramiut -ngidlaq), etc., when following a syllable beginning with a double consonant, and 4th pl. conditional -gutik.

50) The circumstance, unique in the Inuit world, of two clearly distinct sociolects existing side by side (with high prestige attached to the archaic one) has had the unfortunate consequence of causing speakers of the colloquial dialect to feel that their language is somehow 'sub-standard', whereas it is of course simply more advanced phonologically.

51) Dorais makes the division between Cape Dorset and the rest, Harper between Frobisher Bay and the Cumberland Peninsula.

52) A final ~~high~~ ^{may} rise in Canadian dialects ^Λ indicate tentativeness, as if asking for confirmation. The final rise in Greenlandic mentioned here follows a fall in the preceding syllable (or the same syllable if long). Yes/no questions in Inuktitut are typically formed by a final rise plus lengthening - but a final fall is also heard, especially in the West.

53) It is spoken down the west coast of Hudson Bay from Repulse Bay to Rankin Inlet (replacing the extinct Saglirmiut dialect on Southampton Island).

54) The older form of the syllabics also underdifferentiated here (see note on orthography in the appendix).

55) Of which the third person plural is ^{rather than W.Gr. -pput} -vut. ^Λ Note also the first person intransitive interrogative endings -vik (sing.) and -vita (plural). The transitive participial forms -gaa, etc., of Greenland and the west are absent.

56) And, according to Schneider, -kkuq, etc., after t- and g-stems

57) After consonants stems the ending is -tuni, etc. Note tit (-lugu) ^{in the sense 'while'} (~~while~~) always takes non-past forms. Negative -nani is past or non-past. ^{on Baffin}

58) Also first and second person ^Λ (e.g. -luninga, 4th sing. - 1st sing.). In Harper's (1974) paradigm lists beware of the confusion of the labels '3rd' and '4th' person.

59) Indicates doubt following any question-word in the main clause. Transitive forms such as -(m)mangakku (I -him) are also used. Note -(m)mangakiaq in independant sentences (I wonder if -).

60) This fluctuates with -vaa in Labrador.

61) This is characterized (to give the North Baffin ~~Iglulik~~ forms) by -k (plus lengthening of a preceding single vowel), ⁼-ng before case endings on unpossessed nouns. For possessed nouns the endings for dual possessed object are:

1st sing.	<u>-kka</u>	1st dual	<u>-gpuk</u> (<u>ngnuk</u>)	1st plural	<u>-gput</u> (<u>tta</u>)
2nd "	<u>-kkik</u>	2nd "	<u>-gtik</u>	2nd "	<u>-gsi</u>
3rd "	<u>-ngik</u> (<u>ngita</u>)	3rd "	<u>-ngik</u> (<u>ngita</u>)	3rd "	<u>-ngik</u> (<u>ngi-ta</u>)
4th "	<u>-ngni</u> (<u>ngmi</u>)	4th "	<u>-gtik</u> (<u>ngmik</u>)	4th "	<u>-gtik</u> (<u>ng-mik</u>)

Forms in brackets are relative case (if different); only unassimilated alternatives are given. There is quite a bit of fluctuation in dual forms between dialects, it should be pointed out. Forms for singular and plural possessed object are respectively:

1st dual	<u>-vuk</u> / <u>gput</u> (<u>mnuk</u>)		<u>-vuk</u> / <u>gpuk</u> (<u>mnuk</u>)
2nd dual	<u>-sik</u> / <u>tik</u> (<u>ttik</u>)		<u>-sik</u> / <u>tik</u> (<u>ttik</u>)
3rd dual	<u>-ngak</u> (<u>ngata</u>)	and	<u>-ngik</u> (<u>ngita</u>)
4th dual	<u>-tik</u> (<u>mik</u>)		<u>-tik</u> (<u>mik</u>)

Intransitive verb forms for the dual are:

Indic. 1st	<u>-vuguk</u>	Interrog. 1st	<u>-vinuk</u>	Imper./ 1st	<u>-luk</u>
				Opt.	
2nd	<u>-vutik</u>	2nd	<u>-vitik</u>	2nd	<u>-gittik</u>
3rd	<u>-vuk</u>	3rd	<u>-yak</u>	3rd	<u>-lik</u>
Caus. 1st	<u>-gannuk</u>	Contemp. 1st	<u>-lunuk</u>		
2nd	<u>-gassik</u>	2nd	<u>-lutik</u>		
3rd	<u>-ngmatik</u>	4th	<u>-lutik</u>		
4th	<u>-gamik</u>				

The participial mood is parallel to the indicative, and the conditional parallel to the causative (except 4th -gunik). Transitive

verb forms are built up with possessed noun endings as in W.Greenlandic. Note -gamigit (he/they-them) but -gamigik (he/they-them 2) (similarly for other subjects in the causative).

62) Some neutralization of dialect differences would appear to be taking place amongst the youngest generation of speakers in at least the eastern part of the North West Territories due to increased mobility (including schooling in the larger settlements - or in the South -) and exposure to other dialects through broadcast and printed material. This does not (as yet) extend to the Copper and Mackenzie areas, however, where syllabics are not understood and whose dialects are not well represented in the broadcast material emanating from the east.

63) Though the dative is more common, the ablative being used for less direct agency or source. At Rankin Inlet -mut is used for the instrument (as also in Tarramiut) and -mit the agent.

64)A peculiarity of the North Baffin-Aivilik dialect is ^{optional} 2nd sing.-3rd sing. causative -gangni (some older Labrador speakers have -ganni). Note also the 'vocative' form of nominals created by ~~lengthening the final vowel and adding -k (e.g. irniik!)~~ - as also in Tarrami. Note also offers in the optative -langa (should I -?) -especially before enclitic tuug, ~~and the occasional indicative use of the contemporative mood.~~ Also impossible in Greenland and especially prevalent in North Baffin (though found elsewhere) is the use of contemporative forms in -dluni, etc, for indicative sentences.

65) And alternative 4th sing. possessive -i has disappeared (in favor of -ni) everywhere in eastern Inuktitut. 1st pl. possessive for sing. object -vut has largely replaced -(r)put, as elsewhere in Canada. In Labrador both absolute and relative forms for fourth person possession have been lost altogether. Other grammatical divergences from

West Greenlandic specifically for Tarramiut concern, ~~for example,~~ the oblique cases of noun stems with a long or double vowel - thus umiaamik, umiaanik, etc. - and the special form of the equalis case on demonstrative stems: -(ti)tunaq. 'Empty' stem pi- is often omitted, thus laalirtuq (he will come/do/say). The 2nd sing. - 1st sing. causative and conditional inflections are -gavinga and -guvinga (rather than -gamma/-gumma). The 'double transitive' construction with the less direct object in the dative is lacking, but corresponding 'half-transitive' construction may be found with two objects in the instrumental, as in takunnaqujijuq aippaminik iglumik (he wanted/told his companion to look at the house). Some verbs like aittuivug (give) generally take two such instrumental objects. Note too constructions like nigi nirijauquvara (I wanted the meat to be eaten) where the passive sense must be made explicit by the affix jau (unnecessary in Greenlandic). The object (clause) of verbs like sapir- (be unable to) is either in the absolutive or instrumental case (of -niq or -giaq) ^{nominalized verbs in} but the verb itself must be intransitive - and similarly with verbs of thinking, knowing, etc. (and note tikittamik gaujimavunga, 'I know s.o. has come to him') ^(hear). The object clause of tusarpug may be in -tidlugu as well as -mat, etc. 'Since' can be expressed by ablative -nit directly on causative endings (otherwise by taimangat following that mood). The first person can be expressed impersonally by endings like -jugarami as well as -naqqug, and note -giaq for 'my' and -(lir)-naani ('while I/we' - contrast to main clause). Positive 2nd person exclamations like silagqiputit! are to be taken ironically ('what lousy weather!') Dative -mut can directly be added to verbal stems in the sense 'because of -ing'. Two specifically Labrador constructions (acc. Bourquin) involve (u)nngikuni (perhaps) and - implying greater doubt - galuaruni. A notable feature of the eastern Canadian dialects as regards affixes is the greater number of distinctions of tense made compared to the other three overall dialect areas. Note that W. Greenlandic singular imperative form -na (less immediate than -git) is not found outside of Greenland.

- 66) Rather than nunanni. On Baffin there is a distinction between the latter (in my country) - cf. Copper nunamni - and nunagni (in your country). In Labrador this may be expressed by putting the pronoun first (uvanga nunanni), and in Itivimmiut by adding the pronoun enclitically: nunanniuvanga, etc.
- 67) With corresponding increase in the regular uvular stem declension type with /r/ preserved before case endings such as -mik. Speakers of these (and more westerly) dialects should especially beware of corresponding noun stems in Greenlandic that undergo metathesis - e.g. miqqit, plural of mitiq (eider-duck) and tikka (its smell) from tipi(k)
- 68) Supplemented by various texts (published and unpublished) at the Institut for Eskimologi
- 69) As spoken from Cambridge Bay to Holman Island (though with admixture from the east in the former).
- 70) With some aspiration - Métayer sometimes writes 'th'. The result of /t/ plus original /t/ can be the same (in so far as it isn't voiced to /dl/).
- 71) [Nn] can be heard for /rn/ in Copper, as elsewhere in the West ^{-where} sporadically, a clear separation of /r/ and a following nasal otherwise is more common (in Inûpiaq it can sound almost as if a weak schwa [ɐ] were inserted between the two adjacent consonants). This may be related to speed of utterance.
- 72) This /h/ corresponding to 'j₂' is also found in Rasmussen's Umingmagtuurmiut texts, where he also has comtemporative forms in -huni as well as -huni after a consonant stem, and the glottal stop appears occasionally. This might represent a genuine sub-dialect difference.
- 73) The ablative is also met in this function. Netsilik prefers the instrumental, but Caribou the ablative.
- 74) It is from this source that Greenlandic strengthener qi may have developed by reanalysis as an affix - cf. Rasmussen's qi, appearing as an affix in the Mackenzie texts with little meaning.

75) Additional divergences from Greenlandic involve the use of the dative or instrumental case to express cause - e.g. idjirparaalungmut (because of the great cold). The negative contemporative mood is either -nngittuni or -nnginnani, etc. The causative ending -gamikkik alternates with gamigit rather freely to mean both 'he-them' and 'they-them'. The object clause of verbs of knowing, etc., is either in the 'participial' or causative mood - and note constructions such as kangirhimagapkit inuit tuquraliinnaramik (I knew that people began dying one after another) and gimainnarpagtat ilitturigamiuk (when she knew he'd been abandoned by them). Note too constructions like those in ajuliraa tuqujaghaa (he couldn't kill him), ajurhaliramik pauriaghamingnun (it became impossible for them to use their oars) and hakvighijaamini iqquiqquq (he exercised in order to get stronger); see the footnotes to Copper giag and jaq. Caribou uses giag much less in this way - it prefers -niq as nominalizer (and apparently can also use the contemporative mood as an object clause form). A special use of giaghaq and jaghaq in Copper is seen in such expressive utterance types as aanniariaghaminik/ⁿaaniariaghataluunniit! (maybe she'll get ill!) and annautijaghaangata (I wonder if he'll be able to save her ...). Third person singular possession is marked by -nga, etc., after a double vowel, otherwise usually -a, etc. And note the use of locative participial -jumi (while - ing) for any person (or impersonal) subordinate clauses.

76) Some speakers may have /j/ though. Rasmussen fluctuated between 'j' and 'ʒ' and even 'ʃ' (especially for Mackenzie) for all these western dialects plus Iglulik (where he also heard /p/ plus consonants).

77) And /ti/ for some speakers would appear to be [t^ji], perhaps even with some assibilation.

- 78) Rasmussen often has 'Lr' or 'tLr' for this latter cluster.
- 79) This statement is really much too over-generalized - thus words like arnaq and iglu certainly do not have the glottal stop. The basic principle would seem to be a historical one: the glottal stop replaces - or is simultaneous with - what was originally a stop before a sonorant (as in Kobuk still) - thus gim'miq < *qipmiq (but umingmak < *umingmak), and causative -r'mat < *qmat, etc. Regressive assimilation from a following nasal also occurs in such forms, as in certain varieties of Kobuk (e.g. at Noatak). This was presumably the principle behind the phenomenon in Netsilik too.
- 80) At Baker Lake the dialect is reported to be spoken more slowly. The glottal stop is also less prevalent and there is more fluctuation between /h/ and /s/ (as in Netsilik).
- 81) Older speakers have /nr/ ([nN] ?-cf. the combination /mr/[mN] in words like imrusiq 'cup'); also /lr/ where younger speakers now have /rr/.
- 82) But Birket-Smith heard /ɬ/, /j/ or (especially after a consonant) /ʒ/, and /nr/ or (less commonly) /ngr/. Rasmussen only collected few original texts from the Caribou region and these may not exactly reflect the modern dialect.
- 83) Though (for older speakers at least) note the negative participial nngittuq (as Copper). Netsilik and Mackenzie preserve /ts/ (or [ttʃ]) here.
- 84) But this may be an artifact of the syllabic script in part. Webster and Zibell report 3rd sing. - 3rd sing. interrogative -vagu(u) at Eskimo Point but -vaung(-vauk) at Baker Lake. There are numerous errors, however, in the grammatical endings they quote for particular dialects, and these should therefore not be accepted without further confirmation.
- 85) Directly descended from (or closely related to) what Petitot (1876) called 'Tchiglit'. Petitot however ~~seems to have~~ /c/ ('tɕ' or 'tch') for /s/ in initial position always, /l/ for /ɬ/ (nearly always), and

indicative forms -juami (1st sing.), -juanni (1st plural), and impersonal -ngajak (one -s). The latter can be found in Rasmussen's texts in exclamatory use ('how -!'?), and the former are mentioned by Métayer.

86) One variety of Inupiaq spoken here (as ~~spoken~~ on Inuvik radio) has clusters like /ks/ and /qs/ plus contemporative forms in -huni (as Kobuk and Nunamiut Inupiaq) but also lacks the palatalized consonants of Alaska.

87) An allophone [c] is found following /r/ and, occasionally, initially (as in East Greenlandic).

88) Words with /ǰ/ - such as tavǰa (then) ~~as opposed to talva~~ are indicative (like the presence of palatalized consonants) of varieties of Inupiaq spoken in the Delta area, though borrowings back and forth between dialects here is to be expected. The /ǰ/ allophone can be heard before a consonant (e.g. aǰgait, 'hands'). Rasmussen apparently heard it also intervocalically, alternating with /j/.

89) It is certainly not just an allophone of /l/ found after /k/ and /q/ as Webster and Zibell ^{it might be} suggest; thus iglu, despite Rasmussen's spelling 'igLu', has a voiced /l/ contrasting with contemporative -głuni, etc. It is somewhat more restricted than in Barrow Inupiaq since contemporative forms ('past' or 'non-past') following t-stems are in -dluni, etc., as in Copper (where forms like -ttuni can occasionally be found in Métayer's texts, however, corresponding to Netsilik and North Baffin -tłuni, etc.). Outside of Greenland only Mackenzie seems regularly to have contemporative -galugu, etc. (alongside -giblugu found elsewhere); it also has forms like -utalugu from uti, not found in Copper.

90) The original Mackenzie dialect has a somewhat wider pitch range than Inupiaq, which, besides sounding somewhat 'harsher' (due to its lesser degree of assimilation, etc.), is intonationally flatter, generally lacking word-final fall-rises in indicative sentences (it has simple falls instead). Netsilik is more 'drawled' (with wide pitch range), but Copper is flatter again. The prosodic effect of Mackenzie

is reminiscent of West Greenlandic.

91) i.e. an original /i/, as opposed to an 'i₂' from original /ə/ (as in Yupik). As in Greenland it causes a following /t/ to become /s/, thus N. Slope (and Kobuk) sigi (so), the alternate of tigi following an 'i₁'. /t/ is not affricated to [tʃ] before an /i/ however.

92) And for younger speakers to any /t/ before a consonant within a stem.

93) The combination /tʰ/ is pronounced [tʰX], /gh/ is [x] (a voiceless velar fricative) as in sinighuni, and /rh/ is the corresponding uvular [X] as in majurhuni, both of the latter being single phonemes. In Barrow (but not other areas) /k/ becomes [x] before a voiceless non-stop - e.g. agtaq [axtaq] (brown bear). By convention (see below) I write 'g' here.

94) Before a /v/ (which for younger speakers is labio-dental) the cluster that results is [xf]. 'v' before a sonorant corresponds to Copper 'b'.

95) A further point concerning the old Point Barrow dialect is that /s/ before a consonant is pronounced there as [ʃ], a palatal fricative.

96) Outside of Barrow itself the rule may be less strictly adhered to, with stops or fricatives before sibilants and /r/ or /q/ before stops. A bilabial variety of /v/ may also be heard outside of Barrow.

97) -tin after a t-stem. Unlike the case in Greenland and Canada this ending causes gemination of the initial consonant of the preceding syllable (as does neg. imperative -nak, relative case -m, dual -k and plural -t) on certain stem types.

98) -t following vowel or 'weak /q/' stems. Note the contrast with 2nd sing. possessive -n/-in. Point Barrow has plural -in. Note also plurals in -žžat (W. Gr. -ssat) and the progressive assimilation in forms like imrič [imNič] (plural of imiq) in those sub-dialects that have also regressive assimilation to nasals.

99) But note Diomede instrumental -məng.

100) Though it also causes the palatalization of a preceding /t/ to /tʃ/.

101) Including the lower Malemiut sub-dialect around Unalakleet, which lacks the palatalized consonants -except /č/ -of the rest of Kobuk (and North Slope).

102) Where /h/ (or [ç]) may still be heard for /s/

103) The former corresponding to a North Slope /k/ following an 'i₁', the latter to an /s/ - after /a/ or /u/ only. Note that North Slope /s/ after a consonant corresponds to Inuktitut /s/ (or /h/) but W.Gr. /s/.

104) But across morpheme boundaries assimilation (including that of /k/ and /q/ to /ng/ and /rng/ before a nasal) is found -except before affixes like (p)mi with a consonant cluster following vowel stems (and some others

105) Which includes Qawiaruq speakers of the south coast around Nome (and as far south as Unalakleet where Kobuk speakers are also found) and the Bering Strait (sub-)dialects of Cape Prince of Wales and King and Little Diomed Islands. The last speakers from Big Diomed Island, moved to the Siberian mainland after the last war, died recently. A description of their dialect (called 'Imaklik' ^{-imaq̃iq-} after the name of the largest village there) has recently appeared (Menovshchikov, 1980). At least some speakers at Wales have a notably constricted (acc. Jenness 'throaty') voice quality.

106) Though it may be a case of later disappearance of the palatals, this also tending to happen among younger Inupiaq speakers elsewhere. Jenness further reported the rounding of /i/ and /a/, but this surely just reflects the voice quality mentioned below (as he too suggests).

107) But /r/ is not weakened in Wales, and in Diomed /ng/ is weakened to zero as well as /r/ and /g/ in such a position, according to Kaplan. A single (or weak) /t/ can be voiced, as opposed to geminate (or strong) /tt/. Certain clusters are also reduced under the conditions described above: one starting with a uvular drops the latter with compensatory lengthening of a preceding /a/, and preceding /i/ or /u/ becomes /a/ as in iglatuq (travels) from *iglictuq. Clusters starting with /t/ drop the latter but clusters with /p/ or /k/ are preserved (and optionally voiced). The details vary somewhat between sub-dialects.

108) Thus strong /(t)ʔ/ (corresponding to N.S. /dl/ -or /tʔ/ in contemporary ṭṭuni, etc., after t-stems -, Kobuk /tl/) becomes /l/ in weak position.

109) Though /ia/ and /ua/ are rather shallow diphthongs (as in Central Yupik) -perhaps especially in Diomede (Menovshchikov has 'e' and 'o' respectively for them).

110) And note Kobuk has dropping -kaa, etc., following k-stems.

111) MacLean calls this the 'past indicative'.

112) cf. W. Greenlandic qianngarmi (crying) and ilunngarmi (complete).

113) Kobuk -pluni (-tluni after t-stems, -rhuni after uvulars, and -ghuni after velars), and 'incompletive' -luni (but -guni after velars and -runi after uvulars except for the first person). 'Completive' forms in -huni are also to be heard at Barrow. Both sets of forms are found following tit, but in the sense 'while -ing' the incompletive ones will naturally be expected. Note 3rd person plural object form -lugi.

114) ~~W~~aster and Zibell report such forms also for Mackenzie, Netsilik, Caribou and Aivilik, but I have not been able to confirm them in texts from these areas.

115) And note causative forms -gamnga (you-me), -gamigi(t) (he -them), -gami-~~sik~~/gamiging (they-them), -gamisiung (they-it), and -gamisigik/gamisiging (they-them), and intrans. -mangnik (they 2).

116) King Island ^{and} -ga_Agit. W. Greenlandic has ^{and} -a_Ai (-at following /a/). Note too the progressive assimilation in inflectional and derived forms from stems with 'i₂' in the final syllable -thus imrič ([imNič] for those dialects which also have regressive nasal assimilation), plural of imiq (and cf. imrun, 'drinking glass'), and ammič. And note plural -ič truncates a stem-final /k/ or 'strong/q/' except after a double vowel or when 'i₂' is involved (as ~~above~~ or in tupqič from tupiq). 'i₂' becomes /a/ in dual forms with gemination like kammak from kamik.

117) As regards word-order, the object is placed after the verb and adjectival modification before a head noun more commonly than further east (especially Greenland) in neutral sentences -as is also true of Yupik.

118) This gives examples of the use of each affix included and contains complete nominal and verbal paradigms.

WEST GREENLANDIC

TARRAMIUT

1) BEING & BECOMING

giiaar⁻ (be mutually-several)
 giig⁻ (be mutually)
 kkuminar⁻ (be good for)
 (kkuutaar⁻ (be grouped in -s)
 +miit⁻ (be in/on)¹
 nngur⁻ (become)
 ssaqqig⁻ (be good for)
 u⁻ (be)²

giig⁻ (be mutually)
 giur⁻ (be mutually-several)
 gur⁻ (become)
 kkuminar⁻ (be good for)
 +miit⁻ (be in/on)¹
 nngu(r)⁻ (i) (become)
 u⁻ (be)²

2) LACKING

ilatsi⁻ (be short of)
 irsir⁻ (have lost)
 (ssa)irut(i)⁻ (have no more)³
 isag⁻ (have very few)
 (it⁻) (be without)
 ssaaliqi⁻ (lack)
 ssaasua⁻ (")

(ilaagqut(i)⁻) (not have the usual)⁴
 iliqi⁻ (lack/need)
 ilug⁻ (not have any at all)
 (innгаа(r)⁻) (not be wearing)⁵
 innia(suur)⁻ (be almost out of)⁶
 irsi/i(r)sir⁻ (have lost)³
 irut(i)⁻ (have no more)
 (+ta)it⁻ (be without)

3) FEELING

gug⁻ (thirst/long for)
 (irsi⁻) (feel cold in one's)
 katag(i)⁻ (be fed up with)
 (liri⁻) (have pain in one's)
 nngir⁻ (like/be crazy about)
 (nngu⁻) (feel bad in one's)

gug⁻ (1) (desire/want)
 guir⁻ (no longer want)
 (ir⁻/iar⁻) (be cold in one's)
 kkuma⁺ (tsi⁻) (want as)
 (liri⁻) (1) (have pain in one's)
 lirngu⁻ (envy s.o.'s)⁷
 littaa(r)⁻ (be tired/annoyed by)⁸
 (nngu⁻) (feel bad in one's)⁴
 qaqqi(r)⁻ (value/jealously guard)⁹

COPPER

NORTH SLOPE

1) BEING & BECOMING

giig ⁻	(be mutually)	giik ⁻	(be mutually)
ilrit ⁻	(be away from/no longer at) ⁵	giigssit ⁻	(become mutually)
+miit ⁻	(be in/on) ¹	gik(1) ⁻	(be a good)
+miu(taar) ⁻	(live/be in/on)	+miit ⁻	(be in/on)
nngur ⁻	(1)(become)	nngungu ⁻	(1)(become)
(rur ⁻)	(become)	ruq ⁻	(become) ¹
u ⁻	(be) ²	u ⁻	(1)(be) ²

2) LACKING

idluar ⁻	(not have any)	iaq ⁻	(1)(be broken) ³
ihag ⁻	(have very few)	(ilaq ⁻)	(lack)
iar ⁻	(1)(have lost)	iq ⁻	(have no more/be deprived of) ⁴
iligi ⁻	(lack/need)	irut(1) ⁻	(have no more) ⁵
iliur-/iliut(i) ⁻	(ask for/need) ⁶	(+ta)it ⁻	(lack/not have)
(gha)ir ⁻	(1)(have no more/lost)		
irhi ⁻	(1)(be short of)		
(gha)irut(i) ⁻	(have no more)		
it ⁻	(lack)		
(paluir ⁻)	(break up) ⁴		

3) FEELING

glir/gliur ⁻	(have pain in one's)	(giit ⁻)(1)	(have pain in one's)
gug ⁻ /gulir ⁻	(want/like)	(ijaq ⁻)(2)	(be cold in one's)
guir ⁻	(no longer want)	(1, q ⁻)(1)	(have pain in one's)
(ijar ⁻)(2)	(be cold in one's)	nngu ⁻	(1)(feel bad in/tired of)
irhi ⁻	(2) (")	rluaq ⁻	(dislike) ³
nngur ⁻	(2)(be tired of/have pain in)		

(W.Gr.)

4) HAVING

gasag⁻ (have scattered)
 gi⁺(1)(-nnig⁻) (have as)
 gig⁻/gissaar⁻ (have a good)
 gissi⁻ (have got a better)
 (irluir⁻) (be smeared with)
 kit⁻/killiur⁻ (have few/little)⁴
 kisaar⁻ (have rather little)
 (lisaar⁻) (be wearing)
 lisar⁻(1) (have with one)
 lissuu⁻ (have much/many)
 +(r)lug⁻ (have a bad/painful)
 (maar⁻) (be wearing)
 qar⁻ (have/there is)
~~qatigiig⁻(1)(have together/share)~~
 (qqur)+tu⁻ (have much/a big)⁵
 +tujaar⁻ (have rather a big)
 (+tusi⁻/ttur⁻)(have got more/a bigger)

5) ACQUIRING

(a⁻) (catch several)
~~gissi⁻ (get a good)~~
 isur⁻ (fetch)
 lirngusaa⁻ (fight for)
 +nialug⁻(1) (hunt -small game/a
 little)
 +niar⁻(1) (hunt)
 (nig⁻) (get/have come)
 +niut⁻(1) (hunt -several)
 (nnag⁻) (get -as gift/plenty)
 (raar⁻) (catch so many)
 +si⁻(1)(get/buy/find)⁶
 +siur⁻(1) (look for)
 (+t⁻/r⁻) (catch)
 +taar⁻ (get a new)⁷
 +tar⁻ (fetch)

(Tar.)

ggi(r)⁻⁹/giari⁺ (have/take with one)
 gi⁺(1)(-tsi⁻) (have as)
 gig⁻ (have a good/big/plenty of)
 gitsi⁻ (have got a better)
 (+ta)kit⁻ (have few/ little)
 kka(r)⁻ (carry/have with one)
~~kkuminar⁻ (be desirable to have-as)~~
 liar⁻ (carry/have with one)⁵
 lug/+lug⁻ (have a bad)
 +mig⁻(1)/+migi⁺ (have in one's -cont⁻ ainer)
 qar⁻ (have/there is)
 qquta⁻ /quttu⁻ (have much/a big)
 +tarig⁻/djarig⁻ (")
 tsiarig⁻ (have a good)
 (+tar)+tu⁻ (have much/a big)
 (+tusi⁻) (have got more /a bigger)

(a⁻) (catch several/many)
 (ilangar⁻) (take repeatedly)%
 itur⁻ (fetch)
 kkumajarsu(g)⁻ (choose)
 ligar⁻ (catch/win)
 (litta(r)⁻) (find/see many)%
 nna(r)⁻ (receive -as gift)
 raajur⁻ (catch/cost so much -several)
 raar⁻ (catch/cost so much)
 +sar⁻ (fetch)⁶
 +si⁻(1)(get/buy/find)⁶
 +sima⁻(1) (recognize)%
 +siur⁻(1) (look for/hunt)⁶
 (+t⁻) (catch)⁷
 +taar⁻ (get)⁸
 +tar⁻ (fetch/bring along)
 tsa(r)⁻/tsari⁺ (gather material for)

(Co.)

4) HAVING

- djaar⁻ (have a good)
 gi⁺(1) (have as)
 giag⁻ (have many)
 gig⁻ (have a good/plenty of)⁶
 lgiar⁻/lgiari⁺ (take/have with one)
 liqutigi⁺ (have as one's own)%
 +lug⁻ (have a bad)⁶
 +nag⁻ (have lots of/be covered⁷
 with)%
 qar⁻ (have/there is)
 (a)qukit⁻ (have little/few)
 (q)qurtu⁻ (have a big)
 (ruar⁻) (have)⁸
 tqig⁻ (have a good)⁶
 ttiarig⁻ (")
 +tu⁻ (1) (have a big/many)⁹
 (+tuhi⁻) (have got a bigger/more)

(N.S.)

- gi⁺ (1) (have as)⁶
 giit⁻ (2) (have a bad)⁷
 gik⁻(2) (have a good)
 kigli⁻ (have got fewer/less)
 kit⁻ (have a little/few)
 ligaaq⁻/liža(a)q⁻ (take/have with one)
 +luk⁻ (have a bad)⁷
 qaq⁻ (have/there is)
 +siaqaq⁻ (have received)
 +tu⁻ (have a big/much)⁸
 u⁻ (2)/ukkaq⁻ (have many)

5) ACQUIRING

- ghamaar⁺ (want to get for a)%
 (ghar⁻) (get s.th. for a)
 +hi⁻(1) (get/find/buy)
 +himanait⁻ (not find/see any)¹⁰%
 +hiur⁻ (1) (look for/hunt)
 itur⁻ (fetch)
 (liar⁻/+niar⁻ (1)) (hunt)⁸
 (ma)(i) (catch many/all the time)
 nig⁻ (get/find)¹¹
 ninngur⁻ (" -lucky fellow)%
 (raar⁻) (catch so many)
 (+t/g⁻) (catch)
 +tar⁻ (1) (fetch)
- atciaq⁻ (go and ask for)%
 gsaq⁻ (get(material/means for))%
 liaq⁻ (hunt)⁹
 nik⁻ (get)
 nnak⁻ (get -by winning/earning)%
 +si⁻(1) (get/buy)
 +siuq⁻ (look for/hunt)⁹
 +(r)suq⁻ (fetch/reach for)
 (+t/k⁻) (catch)¹⁰
 +taq⁻/+saq⁻ (go for)¹¹
 tciaq⁻ (get a new)

(W.Gr.)

(Tar.)

6) MOVEMENT

kkuur^(a)/guur⁻ (move in/through)
 liar⁻ (go to)
 +miir⁻ (1) (come from)
 +mukar⁻ (go to)⁸
 +mukaa⁻ (" -several)⁹
 (+muur⁻) (move towards)¹⁰
 (+siur⁻) (2) (travel on)¹⁰

kkuur⁻/guur⁻ (move in/through)
 liar⁻ (go to)
 lit⁻ (go to/come across)
 +muur⁻(i)/+muar⁻ (go towards)⁹
 +muur⁺(-i⁻)(1) (put into/take to)
 +siur⁻ (2) (travel on)¹⁰

7) ACTING & SEEMING LIKE

(lisar⁻) (2) (ressemble)
 nga⁻ (")
 +(r)palaar⁻ (1) (seem/sound like)
 +(r)pallag⁻ (1) (act like)
 +(r)palug⁻ (1) (ressemble/seem like)¹¹
 ssi⁻ (act/be just like)
 +sunnit⁻ (smell like)
 +tuur⁻ (act like/speak -language)
 usaar⁻ (act like)¹²

arni⁻/anir⁻ (smell of)
 arniaggi(r)⁻ (give off a smell of)
 gjaar⁻ (seem/look like one's)%
 giliut(i)⁺ (regard/take as)%
 (+ti)+tuur⁻ (do/be like/speak)
 ujaar⁻/jaar⁻ (look like)
 ujar⁻ (imitate/pretend to be)
 +vadlag⁻/+valug⁻ (1) (sound/seem like)¹¹

8) DOING WITH & PROVIDING

iar⁺(-i⁻) (remove-several)
 (iar⁻) (break/damage)
 ir⁻ (be removed/sell)
 irniar⁻ (sell)
 ir⁺(-i⁻)/irut(i)⁺(-si⁻) (deprive s.o. of)
 liari⁺/ssiari⁺ (make into)
 lir⁺(-i⁻) (provide with)¹³
 liri⁻ (2) (occupy o.s. with)
 lirsar⁻ (1) (tell about)
 lirsur⁺(-i⁻) (provide with-several/
 liur⁻ (make) bit by bit)
 liut(i)⁺(-si⁻) (use for)
 llir⁺ (offer/serve)
 (+mig⁺) (touch with one's)
 (+miir⁻) (2) (do with)
 nngur(tit)⁺ (make into)
 r⁻(i) (loan-word verbalizer)

(ar⁺) (apply/hit on/break one's)¹²
 (i)djaa(r)⁺(-i/si⁻) (remove/undo
 one's)
 (gar⁺) (call s.o. one's -relation)%
 (gummitaar⁻) (take meal at -time)%
 (idli⁺) (hurt s.o. on the)¹³
 iar⁺/jaa⁻ (remove/break s.o.'s)¹⁴
 sell)
 iartuisir⁻ (try to warm up one's)%
 ir⁺/ii⁻ (remove/steal s.o.'s)¹⁵
 irut(i)⁺(-ji⁻) (deprive s.o. of)
 (+ju)li⁻ (make)¹⁶
 liaar⁻ (show one's)¹⁷%
 lir⁺(-i⁻) (provide with)¹⁸
 liri⁻ (occupy oneself with)¹⁶
 lit⁺(-si⁻) (give to/take to)
 liur⁻ (make)⁶
 (+mi)liut(i)⁺(-ji⁻)(1) (put into)

(Co.)

(N.S.)

6) MOVEMENT

+hiur ⁻ (2) (travel on)	kuaq ⁻ (move in/through)
kkuur ⁻ /kkuar ⁻ (move in/through)	+minnga ⁻ (come from) ¹²
(+mu)liar ⁻ (go to) ¹²	+mirsiuq ⁻ (travel around in) ¹³
+minnga ⁻ (come from)	+muk ⁻ (go to) ¹²
(+muar ⁻) (go to) ¹³	+muut ⁺ (take to) ¹²
+munnga ⁻ (arrive at/have gone to) ¹⁴	
+munnga ⁻ (go towards) %	

7) ACTING & SEEMING LIKE

(+jur)+hitigi ⁻ (be heard)	rzi ⁻ (act like) ¹⁴
hunngilaqi ⁻ (smell of)	+sungnit ⁻ (smell/taste of)
nnguar ⁻ (1) (play at)	unnguaq ⁻ (pretend to be)
(+tuur ⁻) (speak -language)	
(+ju)uja(a)r ⁻ (1) (act like/pre- tend to be)	
+vadlag ⁻ (1) (be heard) ¹⁵	

8) DOING WITH & PROVIDING

(ar ⁺) (hit s.o. on the)	(aq ⁻) (injure one's) ¹⁵
djipkar ⁺ (give material for a)	gigsaq ⁻ (make nice/fix) ¹⁶
ghir ⁺ (provide with s.th. for a)	(g'saunriq ⁺) (destroy) ¹⁷
ijar ⁺ (-i ⁻) (remove/break/kill) ¹⁶	(a)gsit ⁺ (give to)
ijaa ⁺ (" -several)	ijaa ⁺ (remove)
ir ⁺ (remove/steal s.o.'s) ¹⁷	iq ⁺ (")
(irtur ⁻) (do so many times) ¹⁸	(iqtuq ⁻) (do so many times)
irut(i) ⁺ (remove/break) ¹⁹	ku ⁺ (save for s.o.) ¹⁸
li ⁻ /dji ⁻ (make) ²⁰	li ⁻ (make) ¹⁹
lit ⁺ /ghit ⁺ (give to)	liq ⁺ (provide with) ²⁰
liqi ⁻ (2) (occupy o.s. with/hunt)	liqi ⁻ (occupy o.s. with) ²¹
lir ⁺ (-hi ⁻) (provide with/put on)	liuq ⁻ (make)
lirtar ⁺ (" -several)	tqik ⁻ (1) (exchange)
liur ⁻ /djiur ⁻ (make) ²¹	+tuq ⁻ (use/eat)
liut(i) ⁺ /ghiut(i) ⁺ (make into)	
(+mig ⁺) (do with one's -to s.o.)	
+navig ⁺ (break s.o.'s) ¹⁹	

(W.Gr.)

(riar⁻) (do so many times)¹⁴
 (rur⁺) (hit on the)
 ssit⁺ (give to)
 (+tir⁺) (cover with)
 +tur/+(r)sur⁻ (use/eat)
 +tuuma⁻ (" -often/like to ")

(Tar.)

+mig⁺(-i/nig⁻) (1) (give/transfer)²¹
 (+mig⁺) (2) (do with one's -to s.o.)²⁰
 +mur⁻(2) (do because of)
 nitsa/ngui⁻ (work at)²²
 nngui⁺/gui⁺ (make s.o. into)²²
 +nriar⁻ (occupy o.s. with/hunt)
 (rur⁺/qqut⁺) (hit s.o. on the)
 +(r)sur⁻ (rummage in/work on)²³
 +tur⁻ (1) (eat/use/put on)²⁴
 udjaa(r)⁺(-i⁻) (remove/undo s.o.'s)
 (unaar⁺) (put in groups of)
 (vig⁻(-si⁻)) (1) (do so many times)

9) JUDGING & SAYING

gi⁺ (2) (consider)
 gissaa⁻ (complain that)
 +gunar⁻ (1) (look like)
 naar⁺ (find too/more than expected)
 +nirar⁺ (say that)
 (nni⁻) (look like)
 +(r)palaar⁻ (2) (appear/sound like)
 +(r)pallag⁻ (2) (sound like/be said)
 +(r)palug⁻ (2) (look/sound like)¹¹
 r⁻ (2) (say -quotation)¹⁵
 ssanga⁻(tit⁺) (think will)
 +(ga)sugi⁺(-nnig⁻) (think that)¹⁶
 +(ga)suri⁺(-nnig⁻) (")
 (+tit⁺) (1) (think)¹⁷

(dliu(r)⁻/dluu(r)⁻) (consider)²⁶
 (quti)gi⁺(2) (consider)²⁵
 +juri⁺(-tsi⁻) (think that)
 la⁻/r⁻ (say -quotation)²⁷
 lai⁻/latsi⁻ (realize/consider)
 nngu(r)⁻ (be tired of)
 +nianngu(u)r⁻ (suppose/fear that)²⁹
 +nirar⁺(-i⁻) (say that)
 +titir⁻ (think oneself)
 +vadlai⁻ (1) (seem)³¹
 +vadlag⁻/+valug⁻ (2) (seem/sound like)³¹

10) WISHING & WAITING

+juma (want to)
 +jumagaluar (would like)
 +jumallir (get an urge to)
 +jumatu (always want to)¹³
 katag (2) (be tired of)
 +rusug (would like to)
 qquniru⁺ (prefer to)
 (ila)(q)qu⁺ (hope to)
 +(t)sir⁺/+(t)sii (wait for)¹⁹

gug⁻ (2)/(gu)sug (want/need to)
 guma/ juma (want to)
 gumadli(r) (want intensely)
 gumair/gusuir (no longer want)
 (guma)jarsu(g) (prefer/choose)
 nngu(r)⁻ (2) (be tired of)²⁸
 +(t)sii/(t)siari⁺ (wait for)³²
 +(t)si(r)⁻ (wait until one)³²
 +(t)si^(d)ji(g)⁻/+(t)si^(d)jiut(i)⁺ (leave/
 put out to)

(Co.)

(N.S.)

(rur⁺) (hit on the)
 ((li)qutigi⁺) (call s.o. a)
 (+titkiig⁺) (make as - as)²²
 +tur⁻ (eat/use)

9) JUDGING & SAYING -

~~(+gi)~~gi⁺(2)(consider)⁵
 +nahugi⁺ (think that)
 +nirar⁺ (accuse of)
~~(+nari⁺) (like to)~~
 +pattiar⁻ (be heard)
 r⁻ (say -quotation)²³
 +vadlai⁻ (be heard)

gi⁺(2) (consider/be too -for)
 +(m)magaag⁺ (inquire/check if)
 +nasugi (think that)²²
 +ni (say that)
 +niraq⁺ (accuse of/describe as)
 q⁻ (say -quotation)²³
 +tilaaq (measure/check how)²⁴
 +vadliq (sound/look like)²⁵

10) WISHING & WAITING

dlaguma (feel like/get urge to)²⁴
 gug⁻/gulir⁻(2) (want to)
 +(t)hidjiut(i)⁺ (leave to/wait for)
 +(t)hir⁺ (-i⁻)/+(t)hiari⁺(wait for)²⁵
 +juma (want to)
 +jumanarhi⁻ (really want to)
 +jumatu (always want to)
 nngur⁻(2) (be fed up with)
 qahiri⁺ (want s.o. to -with one)

dlatu⁻ (like to)
 +juma (1) (willing to/expect to)²⁶
 nngu⁻ (2) (be tired of)
 pqanga⁻ (enjoy after so long)
 +(t)siq (wait for/leave/allow to)²⁷
 (suk)+siu⁻ (have unmet desire to)
 suiq (no longer want)
 suk (want to)

(W.Gr.)

(Tar.)

11) CAUSATION & REQUEST

qatisiri⁺ (want/ask s.o. to -with
 qqu⁺(-si⁻) (ask/want s.o. to)²⁰
 qqunngit⁺ (ask not to/forbid)
 qqusaar⁻ (try to get people to -one)
 qqusaa⁻ (be allowed to)²⁰
 (+sa(a)r⁺(-i⁻))(try to get to)²¹
 +tit⁺ (2)(-si⁻) (cause/let)²²
 +titir⁺ (" -several/by stages)
 +tsaali⁺(-si⁻) (prevent from)²³

kka(r)⁺(-i⁻) (cause/try to get to)³³
 liut(i)⁺(2) (invite/advise to)³⁴
 naar(si)⁺/naari⁻ (make be so)³⁴
 qu⁺(-ji⁻) (ask/want s.o. to)
 +tit⁺(-si⁻) (cause/let)³⁰
 (+sa(a)r⁺(-i⁻)) (try to get to)³⁵

12) STRIVING & INTENDING

+giar/(+gi)jartur (1) (go and/to)²⁴
 lirsaa⁻ (2) (intend)
 +naviirsaa⁻ (try not to)
 +nialug(2)(try a little)
 +niar (2)(try)
 +niarsari⁻ (try-despite difficulty)
 +niinnar⁻ (try at all costs)
 +niqqisaa⁻ (compete at)
 (qqaan)+niut⁻(")
 riaraluar⁻ (try unsuccessfully)
 ssamaar⁻ (intend)
 ssamaartuu⁻ (look forward to)

gasuar/nnasuar (try(hard))³⁶
 gasug/nnasug (try)³⁶
 giartu(r)/jartu(r) (go to/and)
 (liuma⁻) (stop because of feeling)³⁷
 liut(i)⁻ (compete at)
 (tsa)+niar (try)
 nngua(r) (play at/pretend to)
 qqaaqattaut(i)⁻ (compete at)
 sirtu(r)⁻ (pretend to)³⁷
 +tuar⁻ (play at)

13) POTENTIALITY

ja⁻ (apt to/can easily)
 jaat⁻ (not likely to)
 janngit⁻ (cannot/never)
 juit⁻/juir⁻(")
 +juminaat⁻ (not be easy/good to)
 +juminar⁻ (be easy/good to)
 llaqqig⁻ (be good at)³⁴
 +naat⁻ (not to be -ed)
 +nar⁻ (such as to be/-able)²⁵
 +naviir (can no longer)
 nngitsuugassaangit⁻ (cannot not
 be -ed)

djai(t)⁻ (cannot/will not)
 garni(r)⁻/jarni(r)⁻ (easy/good to)³⁸
 giaqar (must/should)³⁹
 guar/suar (easily/tend to)
 quatu⁻ (very apt to)
 guit⁻ (tend not to/have difficulty)
 (qu)guminar⁻ (be desirable to)⁴⁰
 gunna(r)(si)/junna(r)(si) (can)
 gunnangir (cannot any more)
 (d)jair⁻(1) (cannot/will no more)
 juit⁻/suit⁻ (cannot any more/never)
 +jutsau⁻/+jatsari⁺ (must/should)

(Co.)

(N.S)

11) CAUSATION & REQUEST

+juminar⁺ (make difficult to)
 laiar⁺ (prevent from)
 pkar⁺/+tit⁺(hi⁻) (cause/let)²⁶
 +(t)taili(tqu)⁺ (prevent from)²⁷
 +titar/+titir(aar)⁺ (cause/let-several)
 tqu⁺(-ji⁻) (ask/want to)
 tquhuit⁺/tqunngit⁺ (ask not to)

-jasi⁺(1) (make easy to)
 (lilaag⁺) (cause to be more)²³
 pkaq⁺/+tit⁺(ci⁻)(cause/let)²⁹
 (t)qu⁺(zi⁻)(ask/want to)³⁰
 (t)qulait⁺ (ask/tell never to)
 (t)qungit⁺ (ask/want not to)
 (t)qusaag⁺ (try to get to/persuade)
 (t)quuq⁺ (urge to)
 (+saag⁺) (try to get to become)³¹
 tcaili⁺/+saili⁺ (prevent from)³²
 (pkaq)+titaq⁺ (force to)

12) STRIVING & INTENDING

(+ha(a)u (try)²⁸
 +hirtur (pretend to)²⁹
 +hu+haut(1)⁻ (compete at)
 jartur/giar(tur) (go and/to)
 liut(1)⁻ (compete at)
 +nahuar (intend/try to/prepare to)
 +niar (1) (try/set about)
 +niarhima (intend/be ready to)
 nnguar⁻(2) (pretend to)
 (+ju)tqiau(juma)⁻ (compete at)

giaq⁻/jaqtuq⁻ (go and/to)³³
 +jumaaq (1) (intend)³⁴
 +jumaatciq (decide to)³⁵
 +niala (try -though cannot/told not to)
 +ni⁺luk/+niuzaq (try what one can)
 +niatak/+nit (try)
 +niusiq (start trying to)
 nngnuaq (pretend to/play at)
 +saq (1) (try)
 +suqtilaaq (try one's best/measure ability to)³⁶

13) POTENTIALITY

dla (can)³⁰
 dlahi (become able to)
 dlajuit/dlagu⁺ngnair (cannot)
 ((+ja)ghaunrir⁻) (no longer good for/cannot)³¹
 giaqanngit (needn't)
 giir /giit (cannot any longer)³²
 +(t)hiriar⁻ (be easy to/tend to)
 +(t)hiriit⁻ (be difficult to)
 +huit/+hunngit (cannot)³³
 innariilaqi⁻ (become able to again)³³

dla (can)
 dlaiq (can no longer)
 dlasi (learn to/become able to)
 ja⁻ (tend to/can easily)
 jait⁻ (cannot easily)
 juit⁻ (be not to be -ed)
 (juk⁻) (tend to)³⁷
 +juma⁻(2) (should)
 +juminait (cannot/not be OK to)³³
 +jumi⁺naq (can/be OK to)³³
 lait (1) (cannot)

(W.Gr.)

qqajaa⁻ (1) ~~(can easily/apt to)~~
 rataannaa⁻/ratarsinnaa(nngur)⁻ (can
 easily be -ed)
 riaa(nnaa)⁻ (")
 +sariaqaarut(i) (need no longer)
 +sariaqanngit (mustn't/needn't)
 +sariaqar (must)²⁶
 +sassaa⁻ (is to be -ed)
 +siriar⁻ (be easy/liable to)
 +siriit⁻ (not be easy/liable to)
 +sussaa (be supposed to)²⁷

(Tar.)

+jutsaungit⁻ (should not)
 kkarig⁻ (be good at -ing)
 liniu⁻ (be in habit of) %
 +nar(si)⁻ (such as to be/-able)⁴¹
 qqajair (can no longer)
 qqajar (can)
 +sarait (easily/tend to/soon)
 suir (can no longer)
 tsi(g)⁻ (easy to)
 tsiriit⁻ (difficult to)

14) RELATION SHIFTERS

(i⁻/+si⁻(2))(intransitivizer)
 +niqar⁻ (dynamic passive)
 qatigi⁺ (do together with)
 qatigiig⁻ (do reciprically)²⁸
 +saa⁻/gaa⁻ (stative passive)
 +suur (happen to one that)
 ussur⁺(-i⁻) (do with/for -bit by
 bit)
 (ss)ut(i)⁺(-si⁻) (do with/for/with
 respect to)²⁹
 (ss)utigi⁺ (transitivizer-reason/
 time/means)
 +(v)vigi⁺ (" -place/time/person)

+jau⁻ (passive)
 ((j)i⁻/+si⁻(2))(intransitivizer)
 ji(aqar)⁻/jiari⁺ (happen to one
 that) %
 naaqqut(i)⁺(-ji⁻) (come across -ing) %
 qasiut(i)⁺/qatigi⁺ (do together
 with)
 qatigiig⁻ (do reciprically)
 +(t)sir⁻ (get oneself -ed)
 udju(r)⁻(-i⁻) (do for/with-several)
 ut(i)⁺(-ji⁻) (do for/with)⁴²
 utigi⁺ (transitivizer-reason/time/
 means)
 +vigi⁺ (" -person/place)

15) DEGREE

alug (rather/here & there)
 kannir (more or less/rather)
 kujug/kujuur (somewhat)
 kulug (1) (")
 ku⁺tsuur (greatly)³⁰
 laar (i) (a little)³¹
 +(r)luinnar (1) (completely)
 (minir) (a little)
 (u)misaar (")
 ngaanngit (not especially)

(anga⁻) (almost/-ish) %
 apig (a little)
 dlarig (really)
 (dlua(t)siar) (exactly/just)
 dlutur (absolutely)
 galag (a little)
 giadla(g) (a little more)⁴³
 kasa(a)g (i) (almost)⁴⁴
 luanngua(r) (much/too/especially)
 luar (much/too/more than)
 luaraapig (a little more)

(Co.)

+jaghaunngit (cannot be -ed)
jug (tend to/often/quick to)³⁴
+jughagaluu⁻ (should but hasn't)³⁵
+jughau⁻/+jaghari⁺ (must/should)
+jughau⁻ngit⁻ (must not)
juit⁻ (1) (cannot/never)
+juminair⁻ (be impossible to/will
not be able)
+juminait⁻ (be difficult to)
+juminar(hi)⁻ (can now/be easy to)
+jungnair (1) (cannot/will no
longer)
+jungnait (1) (cannot/will not)
+jungnar (can)
lair(1) (can/will no longer)
lait (cannot/will not)%
lgu⁻ (be good at)³⁶
lguit⁻ (not be good at)
limair (can/will no longer)
limait (cannot/will not/did not)%
+nair⁻ (no longer be such as to/a
good time to)
+nar⁻ (be such as to be/-able)³⁷
+narhi⁻ (be a good time to)
+taar/jaar⁻ (be easy to)
tgunarhi⁻ (be desirable to)

14) RELATION SHIFTERS

+(t)hir⁻ (get oneself -ed)%³³
(j)i⁻/+hi⁻(z)(intransitivizer)
+jau⁻ (passive)
qatigi⁺ (do together with)
qatigiig⁻ (do reciprically)
(dj)udjur⁺ (do with/for-several)
(dj)ut(i)⁺(-ji⁻) (do with/for)³⁹
(dj)utigi⁺ (transitivizer-means/
reason/time)
+vigi⁺ (" -person/time/place)⁴⁰

15) DEGREE

(+pa)alug (very)⁸
bjag (more or less/rather)⁵⁶

(N.S)

+liržuaq (manage to)%
+naq⁻ (be -able/one can/should)
(+narsi⁻) (be time to)
(ngaag⁻) (tend to/be rather)
+sausit (not have^{the} heart to/unable)³⁸
+(t)siriaq⁻ (be easy to)³⁹
+surnaq⁻/junaq⁻ (easy/pleasant to)⁴⁰
+žagšau⁻ (must be -ed)
+žugšau⁻/+žagšari⁺ (must/should)

(i⁻/ži⁻) (intransitivizer)
qasiq⁺ (do together with)
qatigi⁺ (")
qatigiik⁻ (do reciprically)
(g)ut(i)⁺(-ži⁻) (do with/for)⁴¹
(g)utigi⁺ (transitivizer-reason/
time/means)
+vigi⁺ (transitivizer-person/time/
place)⁴²
+žau⁻ (passive)

ala (a lot/intensely)
atcak (begin to do a lot)%⁴³
kavsak(i) (about/rather/almost)

(W.Gr.)

ngaar (greatly)³²
 ngajag (1)(almost/more or less)
 +nirpaa (most)
 +niru (more)³³
 +nirujussuar (much more)
 +nirumaar (a little more)
 (nnguar) (1) (a little)
 pajaar (more or less/partly)
 pajug (just a little)
 +piar (exactly)
 qqajanngit (far from)
 qqar/qqalaar (barely)
 qqanngit (a lot)
 (qqig) (1) (completely)
~~qqinnaar (exactly)~~
 rujug/rujuur (a little)
 (pilu)rujussuar (enormously)
 ruttur (at height of/very)
 +tigi (so)
 tsiar (rather/a bit)³¹
 umi (a little)³⁷
 usar (more or less)³⁸
 +vallaanngit (not so much)
 +vallaar (1)(too/very much)
 vig/vissur (1) (really/completely)

16) MANNER

allag⁻ (suddenly a bit)³⁶
 arsug (half-heartedly)
 (+ (r) su^{ju}) ataar (1)(powerfully)
 +galuar (1) (nevertheless/formerly/
 though in vain)
 +gasuar/+nasuar (quickly)
 (s)innar (1) (just/only)³⁹
 jaallu⁻ (early-habitually)
 jaar (early)
 (kkisir) (with all one's might)
 lirtur (quickly/a short time)⁴⁰
 llarig/+nirig⁻ (well)
 + (1) luar (well/a lot)⁴¹

(Tar.)

maar/mat (a little)
 mmarig (1) (completely/really)
 +nikit (little)
 +nirsau⁻/+nirsari⁺ (more/most)
 +nirsauma⁻ (a bit more)
 ngaar (1) (more than another)
 nngiluar (not enough)
 nnguu(r) (more)
 (+ pag)(1) (greatly)
 paliapig (very greatly)
 pasug/pasig (almost)
 qqi^u(ari)⁺ /qqiaqar⁻ (more)
 (qquutar⁻) (really)
 +tigi (so)
 tsanguar (greatly)⁴⁵
 tsiangit (not very much)
 (turjuinaar) (very/completely)⁴⁶
 umi (a little more)
 umigi (still more)
 umijaar/umitta(r) (" -repeatedly)
 uminginna(r) (" -all the time)
 +vadli(r)/vadli(r) (a bit more)
 vasungaar/viinnga (greatly/very)

aqi (suddenly)
 ataalug (very badly)
 dluquumi (suddenly -a feeling)⁴²
 dlurig (well)
 +galuar (1) (nevertheless/formerly/
 though in vain)
 (tsa)ggaa(r) (barely/with difficulty)
 ggaatunngit (easily)
 (a) kadlag (suddenly(-a little))⁴⁷
 kapit (soon/at once)
 (lirtu(r)) (quickly)
 luatsia(r) (very well)
 (+nir)lug (badly)

(Co.)

dlagpiar (really/a lot)
 +(r)juar (greatly/much)
 juumi(r) (a bit more)
 kaphug (a little/from time to time)
 (laar) (a little)
 +(d)luajuit/+(d)luanngit (not so much)
 +(d)luar (too/so much/well/completely)
 nnuar (1) (a little)⁴¹
 +(r)piar (really/very much)⁴²
 pqar/pqatuar/pqannuar (barely/just a bit)
 +tigi (so)
 ttag(piar) (very much)⁴³
 (ttiar) (a little)⁴¹
 +tu (2) (very/too much/a long time)
 +turnir(hi) (a lot/often)
 (ju)umiaar (more & more/on and on)
 +vadlaar (too/so much)

16) MANNER

adlag(hi) (suddenly a bit)
 djarig (well)
 +galuar (1) (nevertheless/formerly/though in vain)
 giarhinnar (at once)
 gighar (properly/well)
 hag/haadlag (suddenly/quickly)
 hainnar (at once)
 +hurhaar (on purpose)³
 (ng)innar (1) (just/only)⁴⁴
 kar (1) (suddenly/for a moment)⁴⁵
 liinnar (right away)
 lukaar (for fun/~~heartedly~~)³
 +nahaar (late/take a long time)
 +narir (early/quickly)
 +nirlug (badly)
 raar (1) (slowly)⁴⁶

(N.S)

lgu (excessively/a lot/hard)³
 lauzaq (a little)
 lhaaq (most)⁴⁴
 ngagti (do less than before)⁴⁵
 +niršau (most/more)
 +(q)paadluk (very much)
 (+padlaaq) (too/very much)
 (pajaaq) (be more/most)
 +(q)pak (much)
 paluk(1) (much/very/hard)
 piadlak (really/quite a lot)
 piaq (1) (really/completely)
 piarataq (really/quite a lot)
 pqaq(taq) (barely)⁵²
 qtu (excessively/a lot/hard)⁴⁶
 sugžuk(1) (much/excessively)
 (+taa) (a bit more)
 +tigi (so)
 +vadliq (2) (somewhat/about)
 +vait (very/too much)⁴⁷
 vigžuk (a lot/really)
 (r)žuumi (begin to a little)

+galuaq (1) (nevertheless/formerly/though in vain)
 dluariit (badly)
 dluataq (well)⁴³
 (kadlak) (quickly)⁴⁹
 kangit (late)
 lgiññiq (though one was told not to)
 +liq/+tiq (immediately/quickly)⁵⁰
 marluk (badly)
 mmarigsaaq (better again)⁵¹
 mmarigsi (better/fully)⁵¹
 +nariaq (early)
 +nasuaq (hurriedly)
 patluk(1) (badly/even so)⁵³
 pqaq(taq) (barely/with difficulty)
 (rhaaq) (violently)
 (+suq) (carefully/well)⁵⁴

(W.Gr.)	(Tar.)
lussinnar (in vain)	luqi (jokingly)
+nirlug/+nirliur (badly) ⁴²	+nasaar (late)
palaar (half-heartedly/with difficulty)	nnguujar (slowly)
pallag (quickly/hurriedly)	rajaar (without precise goal/slowly)
pilug/piluur (strongly/violently)	ruutari (gladly-after abstention)
qqissaar (carefully/exactly) ⁴³	saar (quickly/at once)
riasaar/riataar (suddenly)	sikaq (badly)
rulug/ruluur (violently/hard)	+simangaar (on purpose)?
rusaar/luusaar (slowly/at one's ease)	tsamarig (really well)
+ (r) suar (strongly)	tsautigi (quickly/soon)
(tsag) (with emotion)	tsiar (well/plenty)
(j) ummir (suddenly- feeling)	tuinna(r) (1) (just/only) ⁴⁹
	ummi(r) (suddenly-feeling)
	vaadlu(g) (too late/at bad time)?

17) PHASE OF COMPLETION

+gallanngit (not yet-for long time/gradually expected)	giar (begin)
+galuttuinnar (more and more)	giasi (set about)
(+gi)jartuaar (gradually more and more)	giir/tsariir/jariir (perfective/already)
(+gi)jartur (2) (more and more)	(dja)gunnair/junnair (1) (no longer)
+jumaarnirtu/+jumaataar (take a long time)	irsi/isir (2) (no longer/stop)
+junnaar (no longer)	jair/suir (2) (")
(+li ⁷ +si ⁻ (3) (become)	kasa(a ^h /kasalir (almost do) ⁴⁴
liqqissaar/li ^{innar} (just about to)	laar (1) (niasi) (be/get ready to)
lir (begin/about to)	langa (1) (si) (on point of)
(nga ⁻) (in state of) ⁴⁵	lir (1) (begin/in process of)
nga ^{jag} (2) /nga ^{jaar} (about to/almost)	(ma ⁷ uma ⁻) (in state of) ⁵⁶
+nialir (set about)	(nga ⁻) (") ⁵¹
nngikkallar (not yet)	(ngajaar ⁻) (" -repeatedly)
nngilir (not yet-but should)	+niuja(r) (1) (about to) ⁵²
nngirsaa(r) (about to)	ratanngit (not yet)
qqa ⁻ (in state of)	+si ⁷ (3) (become/begin to) ⁵³
qqajar/qqajaa (about to/almost do) ⁴⁶	+sima(2) (perfective state) ⁵⁴
riar (1) (momentary process/state)	(sunngu) (on point of)
riir(sima) (perfective/already) ⁴⁷	+vadlia (gradually more and more) ⁵⁵
+ (r) sari (be in middle of)	+valir (start to)
+sima/+nikuu (1) (perfective state) ²⁶	vig/visi/vilir (on point of/almost do)
(+simaar ⁻) (continuing state)	

(Co.)

radlit (slowly)
 +tiraanginnar (without difficulty)⁵
 uja(a)r (2) (not seriously / a
 bit/slowly)

(N.S)

+saari (deliberately)
 +saužaq (with determination)⁵
 +siñnaq (just/only)
 suit (1) (funnily/always badly)⁵⁴
 +suq/juq (well)
 tāk(taq) (angrily)⁵
 (+liq)tuula (quickly)⁵⁵
 (ng)užaaq (1) (slowly/at leisure)⁵⁶
 (ng)užaq (1) (timidly/softly)⁵⁶
 viñaq (loudly/violently)
 +(r)žuiñnaq (reluctantly/finally)⁵

17) PHASE OF COMPLETION

(g)arhi (begin/in process of)⁴⁷
 djair⁻ ((cān)no longer)
 +galugtar (finally)
 giar(hi) (begin)³
 harair (about to)
 hartur (about to/in process of)
 (+hi⁽³⁾/gli⁻) (become/begin)⁴⁸
 +hima (perfective state)
 huis/ruir (no longer/stop)⁴⁹
 innarialaqi (on point of)
 +jaghair⁻ (stop)
 juir/lair⁽²⁾ (no longer)
 +juqi(lir) (about to)
 laqi (begin -and continue)⁵⁰
 launngit (not yet/in a while)
 lir (begin/in process of)
 lrajar/ tqajar (almost do)
 (ma⁻(1)/nga⁻) (in state of)⁵¹
 numaar (more and more)
 +napit (on point of)
 nngipqar (almost do)
 nnuariar (about to)
 riar (in process of)⁵²
 riir (perfective/already)
 +tainnar (finally)

(+k)anik (perfective/already)⁵⁷
 (+k)arsi (about to/in process of)⁵³
 jasi (2) (about to)
 kavsak⁽⁴⁾/kavsaaq (on point of)
 liq (begin/come to)⁵⁹
 lrataq⁽¹⁾/gataq (finally)⁶⁰
 (+si)ma (1) (perfective state)⁶¹
 nga⁻ (")
 ngaiq (no longer/stop)⁶²
 nriq (no longer)
 qqajaq (almost do)
 +saarsi (about to begin)
 +saiñnaq (gradually more and more)
 +saq (2) (begin)
 (+si⁽²⁾)/+hi⁽¹⁾ (become)⁶³
 +taiñnaq/laiñnaq (finally/after delay)⁶⁴
 +vaadluk (finally/for first time)
 žžarsi (begin)

(W.Gr.)

(Tar.)

ssaar (stop/no longer)
 sungar (almost/be danger, that) 44
 (+tir(i)) (2) (one by one/gradually)

18) FREQUENCY & DURATION

(a/kaa/rrat) (several)	(a) (repeated/prolonged action)
(+s)ar(i) (repetition/habit) 48	dju (for a moment) 56
+gajug (often/habitually)	dlag (once lightly) 56
+gallar (l) (still/for time being)	gajug (tend to/often)
innar/(t)u ^{innar} (always/continually) 49	gajuit (rarely)
+juaannar (")	giangga (for first time)
+juaar (continuously/on and on)	giur (for very first time) 57
+juar (continuously/still)	(tu)inna(r) (all the time) 57
jurtur/jurar (one after another)	innalimaar/limaar (") 58
kula(ar) (often/habitually)	kainna(r) (l) (for a moment) 58
llatsiar (for a short while)	kainnangit (a long time/without stopping)
llattaar (from time to time) 50	kitar/qitar (one after another/frequently) 59
llatuar (for once/at last)	kutaar (for a long time)
(luur) (a long/the whole time)	laudla(g) (for some time)
mmirsur (for some time)	laudlangit (a short time) 60
nngisaannar (never)	lauka(t) (first) 60
qattaar (again and again)	laurtu(r) (for a moment)
qqaar (first)	liqqi(g) (again) 61
qqig (2) (again/further)	lir (l) (begin)
+saannar (often/all the time)	lirngauti (for very first time)
+sar (repetition/habit)	litainna(r) (first time -for a while) 62
(+r)sur (repeated action) 51	qatta(r) (several times/often)
(lla)tuar (for once/at last)	qqa(i) (several/one after another)
umisaar (back and forth)	qqa(r) (first)
(ur/ar) (prolonged/repeated action)	qqaanir (the very first)
usaar (2) (keep on -ing)	ralig (often/many together)
	+su ⁻ (habitually)
	(+tir ⁺ (-i ⁻)) (repetition) 62
	tsaa(r) (a second time) 63
	tsainar/sainna(r) (always)
	tsaniar (continuously)
	(+tuadli) (once only)
	ttua(r) (continuously/long time)

(Co.)

(N.S.)

(utari⁻) (burst out/fall into)%
 +vadlia (more and more)

18) FREQUENCY & DURATION

(a(r)) (prolonged/repeated action)	ataq/lrataq(2) (for a long time)
dlag (for some time) ⁵³	dlaa (one after another) ⁶⁵
dlagtainnar (for first time)	dlak (the whole time/way) ⁶⁶
dlidlagpag (all the time/for a while)	juirsaaq (for last time)
ghaar(hi) (1) (a long time)%	kasak (regularly)
gha(a)ritu (take a long time -ing)	+katta(a)q (repeatedly)
ghauvag (never/not do though ready to)%	lait (2) (never)
hainnar (always)	laq/laaraq (repetition)
+himaar (all the time/again and again) ⁵⁴	+(m)mižaq (once in a while)
(ng)innar/innajug (")	pasangit (a short time) ⁶⁷
+juar (continually)	(+sa)qqaq(1) (first)
laur (a long time)	suit (2) (never)
lihaar(1) (for first time)	sungaiññaq (all the time)
lraar (1) (first)	+suu/guu (always/continuously/ ⁶³ habitually)
ma (3) (one after another)	tqik (2) (again)
nrar (for first time)	+tuag (continuously/for a time)
nrajuit (have never -ed)	+tuiññaq/iññaq (continuously)
phaar (again/more)	vsaaq (again)
qattar (repetition)	+žaq/gaq (would each time) ⁷⁰
qattaraanginnar (all the time repeatedly) ⁵⁵	+žaraaq/gaaq (1) (leisurely for a while) ⁷⁰
qqa(raar) (one after another)	+žaraq/gaq (repetition) ⁷⁰
raar (2) (" /repeatedly)	+žari/gari (habitually/each time) ⁷⁰
(radjit) (now and then/back and forth)	
+tar (2)/+tur (repetition)	
+tarujaraar (all the time repeatedly)	
+tir(har)/+tiri (one after another/ bit by bit)	
tqaar (first)	
tqig (again/further)	
+tuinnar (all the time)	
+vag (repeated/habitual action) ⁵⁷	

(Co.)

(N.9)

19) TENSE

dja (1) (should/shall) % ⁵⁸	+jumaag (2) (vague future)
ghaar (2) (long ago)	nga (2) (past)
ghau (near future) ⁵⁹	ngait (did not)
ghaunahuar/+hunngunahuar (will some time) %	+niaq (future) ⁷¹
+hunngu (intended future)	qgamminga (have recently)
+hunngulir (will very soon)	qgammig (recently)
+jumaar (vague future) ⁶⁰	
lihaar (2) (have just) % ⁶¹	
lrammir/+tgammir (recently)	
+nialir (will one day)	
+niar (3) (future)	

20) MODALITY

dja (2) (must/probably)	+gajait/+najait (would not)
dlangniaraluar (could -warning) %	+gajar/+najar (would -if) %
+jungnait/+junghair (2) (will ⁶² certainly not)	(+si)ma (2) (apparently)
+jungnar(hi) (no doubt/probably) ⁶³	ngitpadliq (probably not)
+nagha (might -in future) % ⁶⁴	sugnait/ngitcugnaq ⁷² (")
+niagqaar (would have -if) %	sugnaq ⁷² (probably/seem like)
nngittungnait (will definitely)	+vadliq (3) (probably/apparently)
padlag (perhaps/they say)	+viaq (might/be liable to) %
qquunngit (no doubt not) ⁶⁶	
qquur (no doubt)	
+vadlag (2) (perhaps/they say) ⁶⁵	

(W.Gr.)

(Tar.)

ratar (you see/it's a fact that) %
 +sima (3) (apparently)
 +vadlai (2) (probably/apparently)³¹
 +valug (3) (")³¹

21) NEGATION

+galuanngit (not a bit)	kasanngit (not at all) ⁷⁶
nngilluinnar (not at all)	lunngilir (")
nngit (not)	mmait (not yet-what usually/supposed to do)%
nngitsuur (happen not to)	nngi(m)marig (not at all)
+pianngit (not really)	nngi(t) (not) ⁷⁷
vinngit (not really/at all) ⁶⁰	nngiuma (not for a long time)%
	+(t)taili (refuse to/refrain from)% ⁷⁸

22) SUBJECTIVE COLORATION

ataar(2) (in a big way -exclam.)	(kku)alug/raalug (bad/'the hell') %
+gallar (2) ⁶¹ /laar(2) (imperative softener)	apig (2) (dear/little)
+galuar (2) (sure/formerly -but)	dluku (surprise)
+galuttuaqi (now we'll see/look ⁶³ out)	dluumi (exertion/strong feeling)
+gi/gu (and then/also) ⁶⁴	+galuar (2) (sure/formerly -but) ⁷⁹
(+s)innar (2) (just)	gi/kki/+mi (again/also) ⁸⁰
kasig/kassag (disdain/compliment/naughty/poor) ⁶⁵	gulug (dear little)
(kisar) (negative imperative strengthener)	kulug (poor/little) ⁴⁸
kulug (2) (dear/bad)	laqi (and so)
(ria)llar (vivid/surprising action) ⁶⁶	laur (2) (imperative softener) ⁸¹
llariaa (neg.imperative strengthener)	mmarig (2) (really)
llarumaar (just wait and see)	ngaar (2) (preferably/instead) %
llassa (" -more definite)	+pag (2) (imperative strengthener)
+(r)luinnar (2) (really)	+sidjuu (regret/humiliation)%
+(m)mi (and then -vivid)	tsa(r) (emphatic/very much) ⁸²
+niar (4) (imperative softener)	tsalauliri (again as usual)
+nir (I wonder/don't know)	tsangaar/tsangaalir (with pleasure/lucky you/him) %
nnguar (2) (affection/comfort)	tuinna(r) (2) (simply)
(ngusar) (thank heavens/dear)	
qi (intensity/very) ⁶⁷	
qina (there's danger that/take ⁶⁸ care not to)	

(Co.)

(N.S.)

21) NEGATION

juit (2) (not(at all))
 laanngit (not at all)
 nngit (not)⁶⁸
 nngidluar (not at all)
 pianngit (")
 +(t) tai (don't -imper.)%⁶⁷

ngidžuiñnaq (not at all)
 ngisiq (could have but didn't)%
 ngit (not)
 +siqingit (not bother to)%⁷³

22) SUBJECTIVE COLORATION

(ria)dla(g)	(imperative softener) ⁶⁹	dlaq	(vivid action)
+galuar (2)	(sure/formerly -but) ⁷⁰	+galuaq (2)	(sure/formerly -but) ⁷⁴
gi	(again/too/and then) ⁷⁰	lgit	(again/and then/as usual/so) ⁷⁴
(ng)innar (2)	(just/simply) ⁷¹	lrataq/gataq (2)	(surprise)
+junar	(really/sure) ⁷²	+ (m)mi	(also/why!) ⁷⁵
kar (2)	(intensity)	ngnguq (2)	(lucky you)%
liqqaar	(imperative softener)	nguluk	(affection/smallness)
lraar (2)	(vivid action) %	+niaq (2) / +saq (3)	(imperative softener) ⁷⁶
lugtar	(sympathy/amusement) % ⁷³	+niq	(obviously/apparently/I found out) ⁶⁹
lugtaraluar	(it was a pity that)	pajuk	(pity)
+(ng)mi	(again/too/and then)	piaq (2)	(really)
+nahir	(disdain/miserable)	(ng)uža(a)q (2)	(sympathy/affection)
+(n)nir	(obviously/apparently)%	+žaraaq/gaaq (2)	(let's -imperative) ⁷⁰
nnuar/nnguar	(dear/little)		
+(r)piar (2)	(really)		
+valir/+vadlar/+vattialir	(inten- ⁷⁴ sity)		

(W.Gr.)

ratar (at last/surprise)⁶⁹
 riannguar (why!/discovery)
 riar (2) (vivid action)⁷⁰
 riassa (let's/why don't you)⁷⁰
 ssaqqaar (just wait and see)
 +vallaar (2) (so very much)
 vig/vissur (2) (really)

23) CONJUNCTIONAL

+gaa(-ngat) (whenever)⁷¹
 +galuar(-mat/-luni) (although)
 (ssa)+galuar(-pat) ((even) if)⁷²
 (+s)innar(-tuq/-luni) (after)
 +juma/qqu(-luni) (in order to)⁷³
 llar(-mat) (just as)
 ngaar(-mat) (because so much)⁷⁴
 ngajalir(-suq) (just before)
 +niaqa(-luni) (just as/even though)
 +niar(-luni/^{-tuq}) (while)
 +niassa(-mmat) (so that)
 +niassaqa(-luni) (though one should have)
 +nir(-suq) (if perhaps)
 nngikkallar(-mat) (before)⁷⁵
 (lla)nnguar(-ani/nani) (without even /in the least)
 qqaar(-luni/-mat) (only/just after)⁷⁶
 qqajanngit(-suq) (long before)
 riallar/llarsinnar(-luni) (after nevertheless)
 riar(-mat/luni) (just as)
~~riar(-nani) (before)~~
 ruttur(-tuq) (just as)
 +(t)siisiga(-lugu) (until)⁷⁷
 ssa(-nani) (without)
 ssaqqaar(-tuq) (while still)
 +tiinnar(-lugu) (right after)
 +tit(-lugu) (while)
 +tit(-nagu) (until/before)
~~(t)siisigi(-lugu) (until)~~
 utiga(-lugu) (at same time as)⁷⁸

(Tar.)

+galuar(-uni/-suni) (although)⁸³
 giiratarti(t)(-lugu) (just after)
 guma/juma(-dluni/-tsuni) (in order to)⁸⁴
 launngiluaraapitti(t)(-lugu) (just before)
 laur(tit) (-lugu) (after)
 laur(-ani) (before/without)
 +(m)ma(-ngaar) (whether)
 qqaa(r)(-nani) (before)⁸⁵
 qqaa(r)(-luni) (after)
 qu(-dlugu) (in order to)
 +(t)siar(-lugu) (until)⁸⁶
 +tit(-lugu) (while)
 +tit(-nagu) (before)⁸⁶
 tsa(laa)ruar(-mat) (for fear that)
~~(t)siar(-lugu) (until)~~
 (li)tuar(-mat) (as soon as)⁸⁷
 tuar(-pat) (" -in future)

(Co.)

(N.S.)

23) CONJUNCTIONAL

- arhi(-ngmat) (as soon as)
 dlag/ttag(-mat) (because so)
 +gaa(-ngat/-luni) (whenever)⁷⁵
 +gai(-gpat) (" -in future)
 +galuar(-mat) (although)⁷⁶
 +galuar(-nani) (without even)
 +galuaqqaar(-huni) (having pre-
 viously/first)
 (+hima)ghaar(-mat) (scarcely -
 when)
 ghaaraluar(-mat) (some time after)
 +himait(-tuq) (without)
 +(t)hir/+(t)hiuti(-blugu) (while)
 (ng)innarpagt(-lugu) (scarcely-
 when)
 +jungnair(-huni) (without)
 lair(-nagu) (so that not)⁷⁷
 lihaar(-mat) (as soon as)
 lraar(tit)(-lugu) (after)
 pkar/+tit(-lugu) (while)
 pkar/+tit(-nagu) (before)
 riar(-ami) (when-vivid)
 tqaar(-huni) (after)⁷⁸
 tuar(-mat) (as soon as)
 tuaraa(-ngat) (" -every time)
- dlaq(-man) (when -vivid)⁷³
 dlaqqaq(-luni/man) (after/when first)
 for a while)⁷⁷
 +galuaq(-man) (after -ing)⁷⁹
 +galuaq(-nani) (without)
 +galuaqtit(-nagu) (before)
 +juma(-uq) (so that)
 +laaq(-man) (to such a degree that)⁸⁰
 lrataq/gataq(tit)(-lugu) (until/when
 at last)
 +luqqaq(-tuq) (immediately after)
 +(m)mi(-urlu/-gaalu) (just after)⁸⁰
 +(m)mi(-žuaq) (while s.o. else)⁸¹
 ngaiŋngaag(-man) (before)
 +niasuk(-luni) (because)⁸¹
 pkaq/+tit(-lugu) (while)
 pqaužaq(-man) (as soon as)
 qavigžungit(-ngaan) (at time with
 few -s)⁸²
 qqaqtit(-lugu) (before)
 (t)qu(^vlugu) (in order to)
 +saq(-tuq) (so that)⁸²
 utigi(-dlaan) (immediately after)
 +žari/+žaraaq(-man) (whenever)⁷⁰

(W.Gr.)

24) NOMINALIZERS

+gajuuq (one who often)
 llammak (one good at)
 +naq (how -!)
 +niaq (one who tries to)
 +niku(q) (remains of)
 +niq (1) (state/result/action)¹⁰²
 (+niq) (2) (the most/more)
 +nirpaaq/+nirsaaq (the most)⁷⁹
 +nirtuuq (one who strongly)
 +niut (thing for -ing)
 nnguarsi (how-!)
 +(r)paluk (sound of)
 qat (1) (fellow in/at)
 qqaaq (s.th. newly -ed/one who has just)
 qqammig (one who has just)
 (riaq) (place/thing where one)
 (rlaaq) (one who newly/just)
 +saat (means for -ing)
 +saq/gaq (passive participle)⁸⁰
 +si (agent/ -er)
 +~~(t)siiaq~~ (s.th. left to be -ed)
 +siut (means for going in/seeking)⁸¹
 ssusiq (abstract quality)
 +suq (active intrans. participle)⁸²
~~+(t)siiaq~~ (s.th. left to be -ed)
 usiq (manner of)
 (ss)ut (means/instrument/cause)³⁴
 +(v)vik (place/time)

(Tar.)

giaq(1) (one's action)¹⁰³
 giikkut/raikkut (protection against)
 gunag (s.th. which seems to, -exclam. esp. as)
 (idjaq) (frostbite in one's)
 irudjaq (one deprived of)
 ituaq (s.th. one goes to fetch)
 +jaq (passive participle)³³
 +ji (agent/ -er)
 +jiaq (one unintentionally -ed)⁸⁹
 +juq (active intrans. participle)
 kkarittuq/kkiniq (one good at)
 (+ni)ku (remains of)⁹⁰
 liniq (one good at/used to)-ing)⁹¹
 +mii(k) (how -!)⁹²
 +niarut/+niut (means for catching)
 +niq (1) (action/result/state)
 (+niq) (2) (most/more)⁹³
 +nirpaaq (the most/more)
 +nirsaaq (" -of two)
 paa(k)(how-!)%
 qat (1) (fellow in/at)
 (m)
 qqamig (one who has just)
 (qqiaq) (more)⁹⁴
 qqutujuq (one who has much/a big)⁹⁵
 rataaq (one who has just)
 (+ju)rataq (which is really)⁹⁶
 +saut (means for -ing)
 +~~(t)siiaq~~ (s.th. left to be -ed)
 +sidjuag (what a fool to -!)
 (+sit) (instrument for)
 +siti (one good at)
 +siut (1) (s.th. used in -ing)
 suuq (one which habitually/instrument for)⁹⁷
 +~~(t)siiaq~~ (s.th. waited for)
 usiaq (s.th. received as gift)
 (g)usiq (manner of/action)
 ut(1) (means/reason/opportunity for)⁹⁸
 +vadlak/+vadlaaq/+valuk (sound of)
 +vik (place/time)

(Co.)

(N.S.)

24) NOMINALIZERS

	+jumman	(desire to)%
ghajaa)	((because of)one's	lirsi (one engaged in -ing)
giaq (1)(one's action) ⁷⁹	having to)%	lraq (one who first(time))
+haut (means for -ing)		thaaq (the most) ⁹³
jaa(-ngani)-(when/in order for 80	+naq (s.th. that makes one -)	
one's)%	+niq (1) (result/action/state)	
+jaghainnaugaluq (which one	(+niq) (2) (most) ⁸³	
should -)	+nir ^v saq/+niqtaq (most)	
+jaq/gaq (passive participle) ⁸⁰	(ngaag) (one who tends to/is ra-	
+ji (agent/ -er) ⁸¹	ther)%	
+juq (active intrans. participle) ⁸²	ngažaq (one in state of)	
+jutuqaq (always/still)% ⁸³	pajaaq (most/more)% ⁸⁴	
lihaaq (one who has just)	gat(i) (1)(fellow in/at)	
lrammiq/tqammiq (")	+tilaaq (abstract quality/extent) ⁸⁵	
+nahuaq (one who tries/wants to/	(g)un (means/reason for) ⁸⁶	
habitually)	unnaq (clothes/tools for)%	
+niq (1) (state/result/action) ⁸⁵	(g ^v ai)usiaq (s.th. received)	
+nirhaq/(+niq) (2) (most/more/very) ⁸⁶	usi ^v q (manner/fact) of) ⁸⁷	
+niut (thing for -ing)	+vik (place/time) ⁴²	
nraq (s.o. who for first time)	+žaq (passive participle) ⁸⁸	
gat (1) (fellow in/at)	+žaraaq/gaaq (s.th. to which action	
+tilaaq (extent of /object clause)%	is done) ⁷⁰	
tqiaq (most/more) ⁸⁷	+ži (agent/-er) ⁸⁹	
(dj)ut (thing for/which/reason) ⁸⁸	+žuaq (active intrans. participle) ⁹⁰	
uhig (manner of)	+žug ^v saq (one who should)	
+(v)vik (place/time) ⁸⁹		

(W.Gr.)

(Tar.)

25) NOMINAL EXTENDERS

giit/giiaat (a pair/mutual -s)
 gik (one with a good)
 irniaq (seller of)
 kkaa^q (one with a big)
 kkut (and family/companions)
 (kkuutaat) (at intervals of -s)
 ku(q) (remains of/previous)
 liaq (1) (traveller to)
 lik⁶²/ligaq (provided with/owner)
 lirs^aarut (story/account of)
 (lisaq/nisaq) (s.th. from last-)
 livik/~~si~~ivik (container for)
 miniq (piece of)
 +miu(q) (inhabitant of)
 (qat) (2) (fellow)
 ssiaq (s.th. intended for)
 +sunni (smell of)
 +tuuq (1) (one with a big/much)
 (+tuuq) (2) (s.th. in a language)
 usa(a)q (something like a)
 usiaq (model/copy)

arniq/sunⁿniq (smell/taste of)
 djarittuq (which has a lot of)
~~ggiaq~~ (thing carried with one)
 giik/giit (pair/mutual -s)
 (gummitaaq) (meal at -time)
 (ilitaq) (protection against)
 jaq (piece/skin of/material for)
 kkut (and family/companions)
 kkuvik (container/place for)
 (kutaag) (one with a long)
 ((k)kutsiq) (such & such a part of)
 liaq (1) (one travelling to)
 lik (provided with/owner of)
 lirtaq/+miujaq (made by/in)
 littaq (owner of)
 +miuq (inhabitant of)
 nitaaq (something from -time)
 (qat) (2) (fellow)
 qaut (container/instrument for)
 (rtaq) (s.th. killed/eaten/broken/¹⁰⁰ stolen by)
 +siut (2) (s.th. used for/during)
 +talik (place for storing)
 tsajaaq (piece of material)
 +tuuq/+tuurlik (with a lot of)
 ujaq (s.th. like a)
 ut(2) (sack/bag of)
 vadluq (one with much/many)
 viniq(1) (remains/meat of/former)
 (vittalik) (one with so many)
¹¹⁸
⁹⁹

26) NOMINAL MODIFIERS

(+pa)aluit (several/group of)
 (araq) (small)⁸⁵
 (gi)+galuaq (which otherwise/for-
 merly)
 innaq (only)⁸⁶
 (kanniq) (almost/more or less)⁸⁷
 kasik/kassak (bad/poor)⁸⁸
 kkajaaq/^{kkataaq} (rather big)
 kul^lak (rather big/clumsy great)
 kuluk (bad/small/dear)⁸⁹
 kuluuq (big)

(ra)aluk (big/bad/very)¹¹⁶
 apik (dear/little)
 (la)araq (little)
 aruq/(arjuk) (little)¹⁰¹
 (atsiaq) (small -animals)
 dlarik/mmari^k (real/complete)
 dlut^uq/dluaq (exactly/just like)¹¹⁷
 galak (small)
 gasait (several/group of)¹⁰²
 giadlak (a bit more)
 (giaq)(1) (a little-in a direction)

(Co.)

(N.S.)

25) NOMINAL EXTENDERS

giaq(2) (one who goes in order to)	giik/giit (pair/mutual -s)
giik/giit (pair/mutual -s)	ilaq (one lacking a)
+hiut (thing for catching)	ku (remains of/extra)
(idlaq/ilrut) (place/thing with-out)%	ligaag (one provided with)
kug (remains of)	lik (provided with/owner)
lgiaq (thing carried with one) ⁹⁰	+miug (inhabitant of)
liaq (1) (one travelling to/hun-ting for)	+nisaq (s.th. from -time/place)
lik/ligaq (provided with/owner) ⁹¹	(pak) (during the last/all -period)
liqut (means for dealing with/catching)	(gat(i))(2) (fellow)
liuq (one who makes)	+sungniq (smell of)
+miutaq (inhabitant of) ⁹²	tkuajaat (team/children of)%
(+nitaq) (s.th. from last-)	tkuk/tkut (and family/company)
gat (2) (fellow)	utq (supply of)
tkut (and family/companions)	vaaluk (sound of)
ujaq (s.th. like a/toy) ⁹³	viñiq (piece/remains of)

26) NOMINAL MODIFIERS

(aluk) (big/all -period)	ajaaq (young/half-breed) ⁹¹
arjualuk (young)	aluk (old big)
arjuk (dear/little)	(aržuk) (younger)
dluag (real)	dluataq (good)
ghaq (future)	(gik) (good)
gharaluaq (which should have been)	gšaq (future/material for)
giagtut (group/crowd of)	gšaqtaaq (chosen)
gigturaaluk (very good/strong)	gšizžun/šiusiaq (received as gift)%
(ng)innaq (just/real)	kaa (usual)%
+ (r)juaq (big) ⁹⁴	kkaluaq (former) ⁹²
kaphaaluk (big/very much)	kuluk (dear/little)
liaq (2)/ghiaq (thing made) ⁹⁵	+luk/+luk (bad/poor)
+luk (bad)	laužaq (small portion of)
+nahiq (nasty/miserable) ⁹⁶	lhiñaq (only)
(najuk) (poor/miserable) ⁹³	(ng) ((my) dear) ⁹³
nnaaq (favorite)	ngnguaq (toy)
ngguaq (little) ⁹⁷	nguluk (little)
	pajuk (poor)

(W.Gr.)

liag (2) (s.th. made)⁹⁰
 + (r)luinnaq (completely)
 ngaag (considerable/large)
 ngaatsiaq (quite a big)
 ngajak (almost)
 nnaq/nnaaq (main/favorite)
 nnguakkuluk (poor old/little)
 nnguaq (small/dear)⁹¹
 (nnguujuk) (little)
 pajuk (bad)
 palaaq (bad)
 palaarsuaq (bad/damned)
 + (r)passuit/+ (r)paat (many/crowd)
 + (r)piaq (real/just)
 piluk (bad)
 rajuk/rajussuaq (damned)³⁵
 ralaannuaq (tiny)
 ralak (bad/poor)⁹²
 rujuk (bad/big)⁹³
 rujussuaq (enormous)
 +siaq (bought/found)
 ssamaaq (intended)
 ssaq (future)⁹⁵
 ssa(tsia)rsuaq (which should have been)
 + (r)suannuaq (naughty)
 + (r)suaq (big/bad)⁹⁴
 +taaqaq (new)
 +taqaq (pertaining to /caught)
 tsialak (good/nice)
 tsiannuaq (good* little/usable)
 (a)tsiaq (fair-sized)⁹¹
 tuaq (only)
 tuqaq (old)
 ugaluaq (previous/deceased)⁹⁶
 uniq (highest/chief)
 ut(i) (owned/belonging to one)⁹⁷
 vik (real)
 {vvaarik) (particularly good)

(Tar.)

(giattut) (many/crowd)
 guluk (dear/little)
 (tu)innaq (only)¹¹⁵
 + (r)juaq (big)¹⁰⁴
 kadlak (little)
 kak (tiny/bad)
 kasa(a)k (almost)
 kkualuk (bad/damned)¹⁰⁵
 kuluk (dear/little)
 laaq/dlaka(k) (tiny/young)
 liaq(2)(s.th. made)
 ligaaq (s.th. caught)
 liaut (carried with one)
 limaaq (all)¹⁰⁶
 luk/lualuk/lurialuk (bad)¹⁰⁷
 lutsaq (old/miserable)
 nnaaq (favorite)
 nnguaq (toy)
 paaluk (very big)
 pasuk/pasik (almost)
 paujaaluk/paliapik (huge)
 qut(i) (owned/belonging to one)
 qutit (little -exclamatory)⁹
 rajaat (a great number of)
 rlaat/rlaaraapit (lots of little)
 rlak (big)
 ruluk (poor old/bad)
 +siaq (found/bought/met)
 +taaqaq (received/newly got)
 +taqaq (pertaining to)
 tsaaq (second/spare)⁹
 tsain(n)aq (the same)
 tsaaq (future)
 tsiaq (good/beautiful)
 tuaq (only/alone)¹⁰⁸
 tuinnaq (just/any/real)
 tuqaq (old)¹⁰⁹
 ugaluaq (although)¹¹⁰
 vik (big)

(Co.)

nnuaq (little)⁹³
 +(r)pagjuaq (really big)
 +(r)pak (big)
 +(r)piaq (real)
 (+ju)raaluk (big/bad)⁹⁹
 +taq (pertaining to)
 tualuk (only)
 tuaq (")
 ugaluaq (although/former)¹⁰⁰
 ut(i) (owned/belonging to)

(N.S.)

+(q)pak (big)⁹⁴
 paluk(2)(what a big!%)
 patluk(2) (bad)
 piaq (real)
 piarataq (real/one who really)
 ggaq(2) (first)
 salait (crowd of)
 +siaq (bought/received)
 sugžuk(2) (big)⁹⁵
 +taq (pertaining to)
 tčiaq (new)
 tqik(3)(second/spare)
 tualuk (only)
~~ut~~ (supply of/owned)
 (pqa)u'zaq(3) (little)
 +(r)žuaq (big)⁹⁶
 +(r)žuiññaq(2)(only)
 +(r)žuužaq (naughty)

(W.Gr.)

ENCLITICS

aa (emphatic/hey!)⁹⁸
 aasiit (again as usual)⁹⁹
 guuq (he/they say(s))¹⁰⁰
 +li (but)¹⁰¹
 +lu (and)
 +lusuuq (as if)
 +luunniit (even/or/-ever)
 +mi (but /yet /indeed-con-
 trast)
 +mita(ava) (I wonder)
 +(t)taaq (also)
 +tuq (would that)
 una (you see/it is that)¹⁰³

(Tar.)

aasit (again as usual)
 ai (emphatic)
 ataq (pleasant surprise)
 guuq (he/they say(s))¹¹¹
 kiaq (I don't know/wonder/ -or
 other)
 +li (but)¹¹²
 +lu (and)
 +luqaa (once upon a time) %
 +luu(n)niit (even/-ever/or)
 ngaag (preferably/rather)
 qa(a) (isn't that so?/doubt)
 qqaa (first/before)
 +(t)taug (also)¹¹³
 +tuug (would that)¹¹⁴
 unnit/uniit (-ever/it doesn't
 matter)

(Co.)

ENCLITICS

ai (isn't that so?)
 guuq (they/he say(s))¹⁰¹
 ·kiaq (I suppose/I wonder)
 +li (but)
 +liqaa (-ever) %
 +lu (and)
 +luunnii(t) (or/even/ever)
 qaa (I wonder/suppose)
 +(p)tauq (also)

(N.S.)

aasii(ñ) (and then -contrast)
 aglaan (but/up to)
 (q)ai (isn't that so?)
 +(g)guuq (he/they say(s))⁹⁷
 kiaq (I wonder/suppose)
 (k)kii (for/because)
 kiimma (still/as before)
 +li (what about(in turn)?/well/you⁹⁰ see)
 +liqaa (so!-surprise/or other/-ever)
 +lu (and)
 +luli (along with)
 +luunnii/unni (even/maybe/-ever)
 +suli (and/still)
 +(p)tauq (also)⁹⁹
 +tu(u)q (would that)

FOOTNOTES TO WEST GREENLANDIC LIST

- 1) Note also non-productive + pasig (lie to the) and +sig (be rather far to the) with directional stems. niit can follow possessed stems.
- 2) ju following a double vowel, and a following a single /a/. Can be transitive following ssuaq, nnguaq, etc. (see footnotes 91 & 94). ~~sailing weather~~.
- 3) virut after double vowel (similarly vir, visur, vir, virluir, etc.)
- 4) And killi (have got fewer/less)
- 5) Occasionally follows a verbal stem. Note nominal qgurtuug, and the combination +tugi (consider too -).
- 6) Transitive = 'for someone'
- 7) And + taartur (several times/objects)
- 8) After plural noun stems nukar, etc. Note also (u)nnar following demonstrative stems. mukaat(i)⁺ = 'take to'
- 9) Note also non-productive +var (move towards) and qgut (pass to the -of) and ngir⁺ (take position to the -of), +naar (blow strongly from -) and +sarnir (blow from the -) with directional stems.
- 10) Also 'celebrate' (an occasion/festival). Note also +siut(i)⁻ (be caught in - a storm, etc.).
- 11) Also + (r)pasig.
- 12) Especially following participial + suq.
- 13) sir following stems in t (similarly for other affixes in underlined 1). Note also non-productive li⁻ (make).
- 14) And with adverbial force riaammik
- 15) Lengthens vowel of preceding syllable. Added to (certain types of) exclamatory words or sentences; rtur for repeated action.
- 16) Also + suusi, especially in North West Greenland
- 17) Especially following u (be). Preceding t is dropped.
- 18) Also + jumattur (get to be that way)
- 19) Forms with t following a vowel (or t). tsir⁻ is reflexive and tsii⁻ is 'half-transitive' (but can also be transitive).
- 20) qu is preferred to qgu in at least Maniitsug. Note also qgusaannq-it (not be allowed to).
- 21) +saar (reflexive) often means 'try to'. Note the common transitive indicative forms +sa(a)raa, etc.
- 22) Preceding t dropped, except with some stems for more indirect causation. In reflexive (intransitive) use often means 'become'.
Note also + titaar/+titir (cause bit by bit/have become'). The combination qartit may have the causative or the 'judging' sense of +tit.
- 23) +taali or tsaali following a consonant. Alternative form =
+t(s)aaliur.

- 24) jartur only after a vowel stem
- 25) Also 'one' (impersonal subject) in final ('subjective coloration') position in older/literary usage rnarsi = 'become thus'.
- 26) + sariaqar and + sima can passivize a transitive stem; the latter may optionally truncate a preceding t.
- 27) And + sussaanngur (get to be that way) sussaa can also have a 'planned future' sense.
- 28) Usually gaa following an r-stem and taa following a t-stem, but with many exceptions
- 29) jut(i) after /aa/. ssut(i) esp. follow-t(i) causing gemination (lexicalized). In plural reflexive (intransitive) use = 'each other/reciprocally'
- 30) Especially N.W. Greenland (pronounced kuttuur); = kuluur in South Greenland
- 31) Also alaar and atsiar respectively. Note also ruusar, ar, tajaar and, on stems of size, nominalizer jaag (rather).
- 32) Especially before 'causative endings'; ruttur preferred in N.W. Greenland. Also saar (rather a lot).
- 33) Sometimes can mean 'preferably'.
- 34) Also (less productive) qgig (and rig causing gemination)
- 35) Especially N.W. Greenland (and cf. E. Gr. rajik)
- 36) allak ~~also~~ as an exclamatory nominalizer. Also kaadlag (suddenly).
- 37) Also ami/imi (i.e. lengthens the preceding vowel), and (u)miar, Note pillag (a little), piraar (rather/a bit), and luar (almost/a bit) too.
- 38) And usag in N.W. Greenland (bare now)
- 39) + sinnar after an r-stem, ginnar after an r-stem or a double vowel
- 40) Or 'some time' (especially after qar)
- 41) And + (l) luartaar (at ease/relaxedly - esp. after difficulty)
- 42) The latter more unintentional. Note verbalizer (l) liur (suffer from/have bad).
- 43) And, as nominalizer, qqissaag (N.W. Gr. qqinnaar), which can follow nominal inflections.
- 44) With verbs of movement often = 'in a single movement' have this meaning. Note also ma, which further
- 45) a can also after qar (or alone), can = 'have/get a lot/all the time'
- 46) qqajaa(lir) indicates a longer time of preparedness (both can also mean 'apt to/tend to'). In N.W. Gr. qqinnaar can also have this 'almost' sense.
- 47) Also + sariir in South Greenland
- 48) (+s) ari (sometimes gari after an r-stem) is literary. Note also rar (especially with verbs of motion) and + sartar, and less productive saar.
- 49) + (t) tuinnar is more literary.
- 50) + taar is more literary. Note also llattaa in N.W. Greenland.
- 51) And 'bit by bit/carefully'; especially used in N.W. Greenland.

- 52) Especially N.W. Greenland. Note also +niassa (strengthened intentional future).
- 53) Also qqammirniru ('more recently') and 'pluperfect' or strengthened recent past qqammirsima
- 54) And +simanngisaannar (have never -ed). +nikuu is gaining ground but is still not accepted by many (it has associations with +niku, 'remains'). Even +sima in the strictly tense sense is rather recent. +nikuusima also found ('pluperfect').
- 55) Also 'would' (repetition in narrative style) and 'should' in the sense of obligation. Indicative = ssa^aq, etc. (ssuug^{ssiliq} in N.W. and South Greenland)
- 56) Also + naviarunanngit. All of these presuppose some previous doubt.
- 57) Also +junnar - especially in N.W. Greenland. In interrogative sentences following ganuq ililluni = 'he cannot have -!'
- 58) Negative nngit precedes
- 59) +sima is most commonly used to report events in the past not witnessed by the speaker himself.
- 60) The latter sense especially in S.Greenland (= nngivig, 'not at all'); also tanngit and (at least at Maniitsug) laanngit.
- 61) i.e., with singular imperative ending, gallaat. Following ssanngit (for 1st person at least) = '(shall not) for the time being'.
- 62) Plural llit
- 63) Also +galuttuar alone
- 64) Before imperative = non-immediate action. Indicative = gujuq, etc.-cf. other cases where W. Gr. has /uj/plus vowel, where other dialects (incl. Thule) have /iv/plus vowel (e.g. ujar-^{*}ivar-, search). W.Gr. siu from *sivu is a further step.
- 65) Occasionally also under 'manner' (miserably/after great effort).
- 66) Transitive indicative = llaraa, etc. Habitual vivid action = llaaraaq, etc., in the indicative. Note also llaqi plus optative li (= 'no wonder!')
- 67) Indicative = qaa(q), etc. (cf. gaa, etc., from gi); also contemporative galugu, etc., like galugu.
- 68) Indicative = qinaaq, etc. (N.W. Greenland qinuug, etc.). With negative imperative = ginak (don't). Note niaginak for future action.
- 69) Especially with gi (rataqaag, etc.) Note also ratannnguar under 'manner' in the sense 'after much effort/difficulty'.
- 70) Especially before an imperative ending (participial in case of riassa). Also niariar.
- 71) Note also the common impersonal inflectional ending +gaanni (when one). + galuaraa(-ngat) = 'even when'
- 72) And +galuartit(lugu)

- 73) Also +niar(-luni); in negative all can mean 'without -ing',
- 74) Often exclamatory
- 75) Note also nngit(-suq) and nominal forma nnginnirani and nngilaatsi-aanni (just before), and sungar(-luni) (just before), riar(-nani) (before).
- 76) And nominal form qqaannguani
- 77) And nominal form +(t)siisaa
- 78) And nominal forms utaa, llaataa and niariutaa (just as)
- 79) The former absolutely, the latter (usually) the most ^{of} several. Note also llirsag from non-productive llig.
- 80) Different morphophonemic shapes as for gaa (see footnote 28).
Plural of gaq = kkat.
- 81) Reduced to ss in Maniitsug for exclamations. Pl. = ssutsit (and cf. utsit from usig).
- 82) In combination with u(be) (ie. + suu) can mean 'is (the) one that' or a prolonged/habitual state. After nngit, it & kit = + sug (similarly for + suur). + sug also after 'i₁' + C (e.g. lirsug)
- 83) Also utag, (q)qut and gut
- 84) Occasionally also a nominal extender (as in most dialects). Less productively vik can cause the initial consonant of the preceding syllable to geminate. Note +vissaag (new place) but + vitugag (old place).
- 85) Also urag/irag (causes preceding vowel to lengthen). varag following /aa/ (and note valuit for the preceding affix there). Pl. = aggat.
- 86) Can also be added to verbal stems in adverbial (or verbal) function. Relative case innaap. 'i₂' plus innaq = aannag (but not for verbal innar). Also found following nominal inflections like -tut (as also (r)luinnaq).
- 87) Can be added to dative stems in -mut
- 88) The latter in North West Greenland especially. Can be endearing or ironic.
- 89) 'small/dear' especially in South Greenland. Note also kulu(kulu)-kuluug (enormous) there.
- 90) Plural = lissat
- 91) Locative case tsiaami (and relative tsiaap), and nnguami (nnguup, pl. nnguit), but cf. +(r) suarmi (+(r) suup, pl. +(r) suit). Note combinations with participial +sug and u (be) or nngur (become): +sunnguu, +suatsianngur, etc., for protracted or subjectively coloured states and actions. Note also nnguasik/nngivasik (little/dear) in South Greenland. In N.W. Greenland tsiaq is ttaami, etc., in oblique cases.

FOOTNOTES TO TARRAMIUT LIST

- 1) Also non-productive +(pa)sig(lie to the) following directional stems.
- 2) ngu following double vowels
- 3) Transitive = 'for someone else'. Note also irsisiuma⁻ (have lost for a long time). When intransitive ir can = 'no longer have'.
- 4) Also +lug often has this meaning.
- 5) Note also dla⁻ following stems in ut in this meaning. lijar can also mean 'play' (instrument)
- 6) Transitive = 'for someone' (half-transitive + sii⁻); +sinig is specially 'buy for s.o.'
- 7) Doubles initial consonant of preceding syllable
- 8) Transitive = 'for s.o.'. Note djaa(r) (= +jaq + taar) and +taar(tit)⁺ (give), +muar only on directional stems (though general on Baffin).
- 9) Note also +muanga⁻ / +muulinga⁻ (situated in a direction). All these have forms with initial n following plural stems. r is found in combination with demonstrative stems: (u)nnga(r) (go towards) (u)unar (go via). Also +var (move towards), ngir⁺ (take position to one's-) and qqu(t)⁺ (si⁻) (pass to-of).
- 10) Also 'celebrate'. And note ar⁺ (si⁻) (pass by)
- 11) Combine with lidja⁻ to mean 'begin to sound like'. And see foot 31.
- 12) Causes gemination in preceding syllable. Intrans. = 'hurt one's-'.
13) Reflexive = 'oneself'. Note also idlima⁻ (have hurt one's).
- 14) Of several objects or as ongoing action. Reflexive = 'have one's - break'
- 15) Also irsi⁻ in the first sense and irnig⁻ in the second (also 'buy'). ir used reflexively can mean 'deprive oneself of' (by lending/giving); after some stems it can mean 'no longer'
- 16) Transitive = 'for someone else' (half-transitive of li⁺ = lii⁻). Note ili⁺ (make be not -) from it⁻, and uli⁺ (divide into so many parts),
- 17) And lijariari⁺ (see s.o.'s -)
- 18) After +tag = tsi(r)⁺. Note also +milir⁺ (put in s.o.'s-).
- 19) And litir⁺ / litiri⁻ (give several things)
- 20) Intransitive = 'do with one's- (body part)'
- 21) And mitir⁺ / mitiri⁻ (give several)
- 22) Intrans. = 'have self made-'. Also (n)ngursa(r)⁺ / gursa(r)⁺ (make s.o. -)
- 23) Transitive = 'work on' (object or s.o.'s-)

- 24) And +tui⁺ (eat s.o.'s -)
- 25) Intransitive equivalent = tsa(r)⁺ (sa(r) following r-stem). Found especially after adjectival stems of quality (as in other dialects).
- 26) Following it (negative)
- 27) The latter also can mean 'celebrate a holiday'. Lengthens preceding short vowel. Trans. 'say to s.o.'. la-can be used as an independant verb stem.
- 28) Trans. nngui⁺ = 'make s.o. tired of (involuntarily)'. Also lirngu-. (be annoyed because). Harper has nngug for Baffin, but it should probably be the same form as in Tarramiut.
- 29) And +niannguri⁺ and half-trans. +nianngursi⁻. With question intonation indicates a strong negation (and nginniangu a strong affirmation). Note nominal forms +niannguumut (thinking/in fear of), niannguusimut (intr.) and niannguurimut (trans.) (for subj. different from main verb's).
- 30) But causes dropping. t_{oi}
- 31) Either initial +v or +p following a consonant
- 32) tsii⁺ = 'for s.o. else' (as also tsii⁻); tsi(r)⁻ = 'for subject self'.
- 33) Aivilik pkar
- 34) Also can mean 'arrive just as s.o. -s'
- 35) saar⁻ often means 'try', and is also used as an imperative softener; saar⁺ can cause gemination in preceding syllable.
- 36) nнасug after vowel and t-stems (gasug also after the former)
- 37) Non-dropping in Aivilik at least
- 38) Also tarni(r) following a t-stem, and (non-productive) +nir (opposite +niit), as in other dialects.
- 39) Also nominal gialik
- 40) With gu when the subject is third person
- 41) Also 'be a good time for'. Note too +naqi (become such as to) besides +narsi. Probably present in qarnai ('oh for a -') on nom. stems.
- 42) Also in lexicalized forms gguti/qguti and kkuti. in plural intransitive use = 'reciprically'. Past participle = udjaq. Note also udju(r)⁺ on list dju, frequentive). Otherwise forms with the /i/usual (as in West) in such affixes in /t(i)/.
- 43) And giadlaa (several)
- 44) Port Harrison qgajar
- 45) Also vingaar.tsangualar is an intensifier (group 22?) in Koatak at least.
- 46) Also nominalizer turjuinaq
- 47) And kadlaa (several times). kaadlag is the usual form on Baffin at least (though Schneider has kadlag).

- 48) With indicative endings and a preceding clause in the causative.
- 49) And note tuinnamuur (do simply out of -)
- 50) Especially following passive
- 51) Note also nnga(r) (begin to be in state of).
- 52) Frequentive = +niujarta(r) / + niujarar
- 53) Transitive = 'make become'. +li after some (adjectival) stems
- 54) Also (+si) majaar (longer duration) -sometimes just ma. Preceding t truncated. Can passivize a transitive stem. +sima can also represent a perfect tense.
- 55) vadlia also cah cause dropping.
- 56) Half-trans. dlai or dlanig. dlaa = 'several times'.
- 57) And nginna(r) -especially after double vowel. As a verbalizer can mean 'have/use only -'.
- 58) Especially with future or imperative
- 59) Also kartaa and katar and (Fort Chimo) qig (several times/a long time). kitaar = over a longer time .
- 60) = 'recent past' in Port Harrison. Elsewhere especially with future (laukanniar) and imperative,
- 61) = Itivimmiut (k) kanni(r) (again/still more). Note liqqitaar (again several times).
- 62) Also 'ongoing action'. rar is found too.
- 63) Aivilik psaar/psaaq, Baffin and Iglulik ssaar/ssaaq
- 64) Also +tui. Can mean 'ongoing action' and 'a little'. Also +sur
- 65) But can also be from +tur (eat, etc.) plus uma (ongoing state).
- 66) Also jar and uqqa(r)
- 67) Also (dropping) vag and tsavag (especially before imperative). valaur = 'often - in past'.
- 68) And langajuviniq = 'should have' and langalauju/langalaur = 'was almost /on point of'.
- 69) Especially 'yesterday/the week/month before'. Implies presence of speaker at event. Can be preceded by ratar. Note laulaar (will have).
- 70) t(a)r can precede any tense affix (and also qattar) -more vivid? Note the use of lir to soften imperatives and in +miilir (have just arrived in). lir is found following a tense affix occasionally.
- 71) nni following vowel or t-stems. Also lirniir. Narrative past - implies non-presence of speaker at event.
- 72) Nominal form, third person. Other persons need following u (be). Used as +nir (but more common). Also found after the passive participle: +javiniq.
- 73) nnajar following t-stems

- 74) And note tsangidla-kiaq (not -as usual) and laursimaniarunnair (never again)-also combinations with other affixes of futurity.
- 75) Also ugquutuq (nominal form) added to any kind of word. Negation (and lir) can follow (unlike W. Greenlandic): Can be used in interrogative forms (do you think -?).
- 76) nngikasag = 'barely/only just'.
- 77) ngidlaq after /CCv/ lunngit and ludja(gani) may also be found as simple negatives. nngilaq is often used to form positive exclamations (how -!).
- 78) And (t)tailinngit = 'it is not forbidden to'. ttaili after vowel or t.
- 79) Also (dropping) galuar. In Tarramiut and on Baffin, ^{nominal} (u)galuaq following a participial stem is preferred in the indicative. Can mean 'indeed' in response to an actual or implied question/doubt.
- 80) +ni after negative nngi(t). ~~Note tsalauliri (again as usual).~~ gi/ni/kki are used only with the indicative, otherwise +mi. By meaning these may seem to belong under 'Frequency & Duration', but their position (and 'Subjective Coloration' origin) puts them here.
- 81) Also guma.
- 82) Also jar (especially with negation). Often very little meaning.
- 83) Also +galuarti(t) (-lugu). Note tsaralua ('while'-4th pers. contraction).
- 84) And nominal form gumamut (and note +nirmut, & qu(ji)mut 'because of')
- 85) Note also nom. forms qqaanginnisaq (plus noun in abl.) and nnginingani (before).
- 86) Not used reflexively when the subject is the same as in the main clause, as it can be in W. Greenlandic.
- 87) Followed by tamaat = 'every time'. With causative mood verb, replaces gaa(-ngat) found elsewhere. Also nom. -nitamaat.
- 88) Also gaq. Note +jatsaq (one which should be -ed)
- 89) Also 's.th. one has at home which is-' +tiaq is more intentional.
- 90) Also can mean '(unfortunate)result' (+nig plus ku). In this sense can be verbal before causative endings (because, alas, -). ku causes gemination in preceding syllable.
- 91) Also (following u(be)) can mean 'result/trace of'. Nominal liniumut = 'by habit of'.
- 92) Or enclitic. More common on Baffin and Labrador. +nig also thus used.

- 93) Note also dliq/+(t)siq with directional stems (also liq = 's.th.in a position' - as in ^{W.G. and} other dialects).
- 94) Usually with possessive endings (e.g. qqijara 'more than me'. Note also qquaq (equal)).
- 95) Port Harrison qquutuug
- 96) Especially exclamatory
- 97) Also juuq.suug can be used verbally (third person only - otherwise suungu-) - 'habitually'.
- 98) Also gut and (after negation) lut. The former is more 'means/reason' and ut more concrete. rut can be 'thing related to body part'.
- 99) Also, verbally, 'have' (third person only)
- 100) With animals and people's names (lengthens preceding vowel in latter case). Also migtaq
- 101) Port Harrison = arruk
- 102) Singular gasak = 'group including -e.g. me'
- 103) Not so common in Keewatin area. With a trans. stem the object is indicated by a possessive ending (e.g. takugiarpit 'seeing you').
- 104) In combination with u(be) = rjuu.rjuaq after vowel or t-stem. Port Harrison guag. Pl. = rjuat, rel. = rjuap.
- 105) Fort Chimo also kkumiq
- 106) Also Fort Chimo ga (with time words only)
- 107) Also lukatak, lukataaluk and sikak
- 108) With u = tuu or tuangu
- 109) And 'for a long time before/since'
- 110) Used verbally following participles +juq and +jaq (+jaraluag in the latter case). Enclitic after adverbials
- 111) Also +quuq
- 112) Often with little meaning (e.g. in question-answer sequences): Note also (+lu)li (and - too)
- 113) Aivilik +(p)taug
- 114) Sometimes also in verbal use following verb stems
- 115) And nginnag (esp. after double vowel). After interrogative pronoun = 'any'
- 116) raaluk often even after vowel stems. cf. also vinaaluk with vinig and mmariaaluk with mmarik. Particularly common on Baffin.
- 117) Can follow noun plus equalis case ending
- 118) To demonstrative/pronominal stems only (e.g. sukutsiq 'what part of it')

FOOTNOTES TO COPPER LIST

- 1) And +hig (lie to the) - with directional stems
- 2) ngu after double vowel
- 3) And ittir⁻ (have taken away from one). and ilgar⁻ (have lost one's-),
ilrit⁻ also found in meaning 'have no more-',
- 4) Transitive = 'break s.o.'s-
- 5) Also sometimes 'act like/consider oneself' (reflexive) and 'call s.o. something' - thus participial form giag plus possessive ending = 'called - by s.o.'. +juri, +jugi and rahugi (after r-stems) also found in meaning 'think'. Note also +nari (like to).
- 6) Also 'be a good/bad'
- 7) And 'catch many' - also ar in this meaning
- 8) Not common today
- 9) And note nominal form +tuniq (place with plenty of)
- 10) And +himanair (no longer find/see)
- 11) +taar (put on-clothes/get) can also be found,
- 12) Also lit⁻ (go to)
- 13) +mug and +muu(r) also found. Also (u)ngnar/ngnau following demonstrative stems. Note also +var (move towards) and lrut/tgut⁺ (pass to the -of) on directional stems.
- 14) Transitive = 'put in/on' - cf. +munngaut(i)⁺ (take to). All start with n after plural stems.
- 15) +valug (be heard/seem to) and +valuir (no longer be heard) can also be found. -tun ittug is however commoner in all these senses of acting/seeming like. +vadlug also found after verbal stems (group 9).
- 16) Transitive = 'remove/steal s.o.'s'. Half-transitive = ijai⁻. djar can be found following t-stems.
- 17) Half-transitive irning⁻ or irhir⁻
- 18) And laar⁻ (do so many at at time)
- 19) Intransitive = 'is broken'
- 20) dji after ut(i) and nominals in aq (with contraction). Note also djiit(i) (make for/with),
- 21) Transitive = 'for s.o.', djiur after ut(i) and nominals in aq
- 22) Intransitive = 'be the same - th' And note also +titkutari⁺ (be the same -th as)
- 23) Lengthens preceding vowel
- 24) Note also verbal (?) dlaq-una and dlaqqa (I wish he would -).
- 25) i.e. ttir, etc. after vowel or t-stems. + hiri can apparently

- also mean 'want/try to'
- 26) pkar after vowel stems. Reflexive can also mean 'become'
 - 27) Reflexive = 'try not to'
 - 28) +har⁺(-i⁻) can also mean 'try to cause to'
 - 29) jartur after vowel stem, lgiar after t-stems
 - 30) Note optative langali in requests (may I-?).
 - 31) Transitive = 'make that way'
 - 32) giir/giit can also = 'will not - for some time', and note giinngit (able/supposed to -after some time). For some speakers giit can also mean 'does not have to' apparently.
 - 33) Also 'have not done/did not do'
 - 34) Can also mean 'need to/want to'. jughi means 'start to do often'
 - 35) Alternatively +jaghaugalar
 - 36) Also +hur - especially of catching animals. Note lguhaut(i) (compete at).
 - 37) And +nait (not be such as to). Also +nailrit/+naijar (no longer be such as to) +nar can also indicate an impersonal subject,
 - 38) Transitive = 'get s.th. -ed for oneself'
 - 39) Plural intransitive = 'reciprically'. Can also mean 'be surprised by -storm, etc.' Passive participle udjaq
 - 40) lvigi after t-stems. Corresponding half-transitive = +viu⁻
 - 41) = 'very' after verbal stems of smallness, closeness, etc. Note also ujar (a bit)
 - 42) And +(r)piarpag (very much - all the time)
 - 43) Following verbal stems of (sudden) emotion in third person. Corresponding first person uses hugpiar. viar also found
 - 44) ginnar (following vowel or g or r-stems) and + hinnar (following r and t-stems) are also found,
 - 45) And kaadlag (straight out/at a single blow)
 - 46) Apparently also gaar after g-stems occasionally
 - 47) Also garhi (only after g-stems?) and liarhi, none very common now
 - 48) +hi can also mean 'intend to' apparently.
 - 49) And sometimes 'cannot'. ir on its own can sometimes mean 'no longer'
 - 50) Also larhi and liadlag. lagi especially of weather phenomena
 - 51) Also malir and lilir (set about). Also sometimes uma (= 'on point of')
 - 52) Also +tar. Note ttiariir (a little before already),
 - 53) Also 'at a blow/straight out'
 - 54) And +himaanginnar
 - 55) And qgararaa
 - 56) Métayer's 'piag'

where it has similar meanings to kasik.

- 92) Esp. Sisimiut and Maniitsuq, Also rajak (and cf. rajar 'greatly' in Kap Farvel) and ralaq (esp. Uummannaq)
- 93) The latter sense in N.W. Greenland. Note also ngaalluk there
- 94) Enclitic after adverbials. Note combinations with +suq and u (e.g. + sursuu) for intense or protracted states, etc. S. Greenland has +(r)sivasik - but Paamiut + (r)savaq.
- 95) Note nominal forms following +suq (e.g. +sussaq) in the meaning 'I hope that'
- 96) Also +galuartuq and +galuaq (relative +galuap or +galuup), nominalizers ('which otherwise/formerly') which can also be used verbally.
- 97) Especially of skins, game caught, tools, etc. Also gut and gutaq.
- 98) Distinct from aat (won't you?) following imperatives
- 99) jaasiit after a vowel. Preceding /q/ becomes /r/ (or [N]), /g/-/ng/, /p/-/m/, and /t/-/n/, as with other vowel-initial enclitics.
- 100) Also nnguug, especially after a /t/
- 101) After causative mood endings can also mean 'ever since', and, with time expressions ending in +suq, 'already by'.
- 102) With 3rd person possessive endings =nira or rna (or rnga), etc. Note the -niq ajurpuq construction (does not -), which in E.Gr. means rather 'never' (and in Canada 'cannot'). niq + u(be) = niru.
- 103) With main verb in the participial mood; a construction common only in Greenland

- 57) Often with little meaning (a strengthener); also 'used to' or 'keep on'. Occasionally causes dropping.
- 58) Indicative = djavuq, etc. Used in giving an order/suggestion. Older negative was djailaq (now nngidjavuq), etc.
- 59) Older indicative ghavuq, now ghaujuq, etc. Note ghaunginnar (intends to - but doesn't).
- 60) i.e. 'in a while'. Often means 'can (in future)'.
- 61) Also raar. Note verbal use of nominal lihaaq (when he had just -ed).
- 62) Also +jungnanngit. Note dlagungnait (will not for a long time).
- 63) Also +jungnarhinngur. Negative nngit precedes. +jungnarhi is the most common. +jungnarhinnir is 'very probably'.
- 64) nngit precedes. In second person can mean 'be careful or you'll-'.
 65) nngit can follow or (better) precede.
- 66) As an exclamation can mean 'you bet!'
- 67) Before contemporative endings -luni, -lugu, etc.
- 68) Often apparently (as other affixes beginning with nng) with single ng phonetically - a matter of speed of speech?
- 69) i.e. (by contraction) dlait, etc.
- 70) +ki after t-stems. +(ng)mi preferred to gi today. ~~it can appear before +(n)nir~~ Usually in final position (following +(n)nir, which in turn follows +galuar, etc.) though it can precede +(n)nir, it would seem.
- 71) Also tuar
- 72) Note +junarami (causative mood), = 'how-!'
- 73) Can be self-depreciatory (cf. W.G. kasik). Possible also under 'manner', (cf. Métayer's lukaar - 'for fun/a bit/here and there?' - which in W.Gr. can mean (lexicalized) 'casually/a bit').
- 74) Also lraalug, valraalug, lirpag, and other combinations not necessarily referring to repeated action. Narrative style (older?).
- 75) Also +jaraa(-ngat)
- 76) And +galuartit(-lugu), +galuaraa(-ngat/luni) = 'even when(ever)'
- 77) +hartur(-mat) and tainnar(-mat) ^{are} also found.
- 78) Also tgaari(blugu). Less common is +ta(a)r(-mat)
- 79) Also jariag. Used, amongst other functions, in nominal object clauses after verbs of asking if. Note giangani (in order that he-); also giaghaani. riag can also sometimes mean 'place where one -s'.
- 80) taa after t-stems and gaa after most g-stems. Used as giag for object clauses. Also nom. +jaaghani (the fact of his -ing), which in verbal use can mean 'he is about to-' (as giaghaani can), and +jaangani (when/in order to).

- 81) dji after t-stems
- 82) Note +jumi (locative case) in meaning 'while'
- 83) tugaq on its own means 'same old'. +jutugaq is third person only (verbal use),
- 84) In verbal use = 'is supposed to/trying to'
- 85) Possessed form (third singular) = nra. Not much used for individual action/state (=g_{iaq})
- 86) And note dliq/+hiq on directional stems. dli_{rp}a(a)q = 'most'
- 87) Note tqijarjuag and (for verb stems of smallness, closeness, etc.) tqijannuag (most). Verbalized = tqijau⁻
- 88) djut usually after vowel or t-stems. Also used as a nominalizer (the fact that -, etc.) - e.g. pinngidjutaani (because of his not doing).
- 89) lvik after t-stems. Sometimes also a nominalizer,
- 90) Also riag (as for all non-Greenlandic dialects?)
- 91) In verbal use (third person) = 'have'. Plural lgit, dual dlak, rel. lgup
- 92) Plural = +miut
- 93) And note giujartag (s.th. like one's-)
- 94) +juag following a consonant. +(r)juangu (or +(r)juu) in combination with u.
- 95) And lialrammiq (s.th. just made)
- 96) Plural +nattit, rel. +nattip. Indicates half amusement, half a pejorative tone, according to Métayer.
- 97) Sometimes also nngu(u)jaq. Other older affixes of smallness are lukaannuag and araluk. Note also (d)luarjuk (poor old) and non-productive ruhiq (little)
- 98) In combination with u(be) = n_{nuu}
- 99) gaaluk after g-stems only. Can be added directly to adverbials and in verbal use can mean 'very (much)'. raaluit (and also paaluit) = 'many/all sorts of'
- 100) Also in verbal use after participial +jug (but also note +jugaluu⁻) and +jaq (e.g. +jaraluanga, 'although he -it'). In the sense of 'former/remains of' vinig may also be found.
- 101) guug after g-stems, nnguug after t-stems, elsewhere either

where it has similar meanings to kasik.

- 92) Esp. Sisimiut and Maniitsug, Also rajak (and cf. rajar 'greatly' in Kap Farvel) and rалааq (esp. Uummannaq)
- 93) The latter sense in N.W. Greenland. Note also ngaalluk there
- 94) Enclitic after adverbials. Note combinations with +suq and u (e.g. + sursuu) for intense or protracted states, etc. S. Greenland has +(r)sivasik - but Paamiut + (r)savaq.
- 95) Note nominal forms following +suq (e.g. +sussaq) in the meaning 'I hope that'
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- 97) Especially of skins, game caught, tools, etc. Also qut and qutaq.
- 98) Distinct from aat (won't you?) following imperatives
- 99) jaasiit after a vowel. Preceding /q/ becomes /r/ (or [N]), /g/-/ng/, /b/-/m/, and /t/-/n/, as with other vowel-initial enclitics.
- 100) Also nnguug, especially after a /t/
- 101) After causative mood endings can also mean 'ever since', and, with time expressions ending in +suq, 'already by'.
- 102) With 3rd person possessive endings =nira or rna (or nga), etc. Note the -niq ajurpuq construction (does not -), which in E.Gr. means rather 'never' (and in Canada 'cannot'). niq + u (be) = niru.
- 103) With main verb in the participial mood; a construction common only in Greenland

FOOTNOTES TO NORTH SLOPE LIST

- 1) guq after k- (i.e. eastern g-) stems. Can be transitive in sense of 'make into'.
- 2) gu (Kobuk ~~and Seward Peninsula~~ ngu) after double vowel. Similarly with iq and it
- 3) Also 'injure - body part'
- 4) Also irsi⁻
- 5) Also 'have lost all one's' and 'wear out'. No contracted indicative forms like gaa, etc. (these are purely Greenlandic).
- 6) Also intransitive in sense 'put on - clothing'
- 7) And (less productively) 'be a good/bad'
- 8) Also gaqtu⁻
- 9) And sometimes q after g-stems (as W.Gr.) though usually k. Also, in sense of 'hunt' liap and +niaq
- 10) And note ggaug (have caught many)
- 11) Also +taaq/+taari⁺ (get)
- 12) Note +muktit⁺ (send to). All these affixes begin with n following plural stems.
- 13) rsiug⁻ following demonstrative stems. Note also q⁻ for movement following dative or ablative demonstrative words, and tqut⁺ (pass to -of) following directional stems; also ngiq⁺ (take position to -of).
- 14) gzi following k-stems
- 15) Transitive = 'hit s.o. on - body part'
- 16) Transitive = 'for someone'
- 17) Intransitive = 'no longer good for'
- 18) Intransitive = 'for oneself'
- 19) And on some stems 'injure - body part'. Note liut(i)⁺ (make into)
- 20) Intransitive = 'be provided with'
- 21) Also 'have pain in'
- 22) gasugi⁺ following consonant stems alternatively
- 23) Lengthens preceding vowel
- 24) Causes preceding t to drop.
- 25) Can also be a nominalizer (sound of)
- 26) In indicative = +jumaug, etc.; guma following g- and k-stems, but *kuma also found following the latter (as for all compounds of +juma/+jumi-)
- 27) tciq following vowel or t-stems. Note alternative transitive +(t)ciari⁺.

- 28) Following adjectival verb stems. Also +silaag
- 29) pkag⁺ following a vowel stem (pčag in Kobuk after i). tit causes preceding t to drop.
- 30) tqu following vowel or t-stem. Also tqujuma (especially before imperatives (a strengthener))
- 31) Intransitive often means 'try to'
- 32) tčaili⁺ following vowel or t-stem, Intransitive = 'try not to/avoid -ing'. Before imperative = 'stop -ing'
- 33) giaq also occasionally seems to mean 'begin'
- 34) Also +jumaatčak
- 35) +niag can also be found
- 36) juqtilaag after consonants other than t. Also lgutilaag
- 37) After k- or g-stems only
- 38) See footnote 26. And note jumiñarsi (become/make easy to)
- 39) tčiriag⁻ after vowel or t-stem
- 40) junag after k- or g-stems
- 41) gut(i)⁺ after k- or g-stems, +zut(i)⁺ after t-stems (and similarly for compounds of ut(i)⁺). Sometimes doubles consonant of final syllable of a preceding vowel-stem. Reflexive plural = 'reciprocally'
- 42) Doubles consonant of final syllable of a preceding vowel-stem.
- 43) Not found following t or a double vowel plus k or g
- 44) Also ħaudluk. The combination /ħh/ is the result of the assimilation of /ħ/ & /q/
- 45) And ngagħinga (not as much as one used to)
- 46) Not found following t-stems. Doubles initial consonant of final syllable of preceding vowel stem ('i₂' becoming /a/). Also vik/pik
- 47) Also +vaiħauq and +vadlaag
- 48) Sometimes = 'more/most' or, as a verbalizer, 'be a good' apparently
- 49) Only with negative stems
- 50) +tiq following consonants other than t. Can also have sense of 'just now' (tense) or vivid action (subjective coloration), it would seem,
- 51) nmarigsi/nmarigsaaq after stems in t
- 52) Also pgaučag
- 53) In the latter sense expresses surprise.
- 54) jug after consonants other than t. Note also +suqtilaag (one's best) as a nominalizer. Also ršug (do a good job of -ing)

- 55) tuula following k-or q-stems
- 56) +nguža(a)q following t-stems. guža(a)q following a double vowel
- 57) +kanik following t-stems (Kobuk nganik)
- 58) +karsi following t-stems (Kobuk aqsi). garsi after two vowels (with or without a deleted consonant between).
- 59) And note +žaraliq (begin frequently/repeatedly)
- 60) lrataq following vowel or t-stem, otherwise gataq. Can also indicate intensity/surprise (group 22)
- 61) +sima following consonant
- 62) Also suiq
- 63) Also kži following t-stems. Note also tčak (become - sudden emotional state) used with verb stems of emotional state with suk (that it replaces)
- 64) Either taiññaq or laiññaq after t, but +taiññaq after other consonants
- 65) Also as a nominalizer -dlaat (each)
- 66) Can also mean 'hard' or 'at a blow'
- 67) Also pasa(k) plus negative contemporative ending (-nani, etc.)
- 68) +suu following vowel or t
- 69) By meaning may seem to belong under group 20 (as also Copper +(n)nir), but positionally (and by origin) it belongs here.
- 70) +taq/tari, etc. after t-stems. žaq, etc., only after vowel stems. Also +žagtug (repetition)
- 71) +gisi also found, but not as common as in Kobuk. Can also mean 'intend to'
- 72) sugnaq in Barrow but elsewhere sungnaq, etc.
- 73) Causes preceding t to drop.
- 74) Note combination lgiññiq (I found out that/apparently - again)
- 75) Indicative = +(m)miuq, etc. (Kobuk +(p)miuq)
- 76) Also +juma
- 77) Also +saqqaq(-man) (when first)
- 78) And note 'contemporative' forms dlar-mi, etc. (see footnote 81)
- 79) Also with 'participial' +žuag/žaa, etc. With the causative and conditional moods means 'after(for a while)' (contrast), but in the causative (e.g. +galuarami) can also be used indicatively (have been -ing).
- 80) And note (+k)arsimmipkaq(-ługu) (just as/while about to)
- 81) Or ngaiñnngaan, with 'contemporative' forms in ngngaq plus relative endings. The latter, and also dlag and mmaq (meaning 'while/when') can take transitive or intransitive endings.

- 82) Following main clause imperative. Note also +sar(-nagu) (without even)
- 83) And note dliq/+kig (most - in a direction.),
- 84) Sometimes also means 'any/every' apparently,
- 85) Can function as an object clause. Causes preceding t to drop.
- 86) See footnote 41. Can also be a nominal extender (esp. in form qut(i)),
- 87) žžusiq following t-stems
- 88) Also, less productively, aq (thing resulting from action) Note the verbal usage ('transitive participial mood') of forms in kkaq and +žaq with personal possessive endings
- 89) In verbal use (MacLean's 'past indicative') corresponds to transitive +taa etc. Note that forms in +žug (transitive +žaa) etc., are purely verbal ('present indicative'),
- 90) ti (dropping) after t-stem, žži after ti or si (which is dropped)
- 91) ijaag following a
- 92) And +galuag (= 'otherwise')
- ~~93) Lengthens preceding vowel~~
- 93) Also (limited) žhujuk - on adjectival stems of extension
- 94) And +(q)paaržuk (very big). pak with time stems like unnuk = 'all'
- 95) Also žuk alone sometimes acc. Webster & Zibell, but at least sometimes it = 'small'
- 96) ržuaq following a vowel. Pl. +(r)žuat. Combined with u = +(r)žuu
- 97) Note form following /t/ as in angutižguuq (King Island angutižuuq), and following /č/ as in iñuijguuq
- 98) Also 'ever' (with conditional mood) and 'ever since'
- 99) ptauq or vsauq after a vowel. Also ptuuq

EXAMPLES OF AFFIXES WITH NO (EXACT) W. GREENLANDIC EQUIVALENT

A) TARRAMIUT

- anga aupaangajuq (it is reddish)
- ataq tikittuatar-li (why, he is coming!)
- dluquumi aliasudluquumijuq (he is suddenly glad)
- ~~gajar tuqugajalaujunngilaq uvaniilaujuguvit~~
- gar ataatagarpaa (he called him father)
- glaar anaanaglaarpara (she is like my mother)
- giaq audlariamik isumaqanngilaq (he isn't thinking of going)
- giliut(i) Arpigiliutivagit (I took you for Arpik)
- giur natsiriurpuq (he caught a seal for the first time)
- gummitar unnugummitarpuq (he had his evening meal)
- gartuisir aggartuisirpuq (he tried to warm his hands up)
- ilaagqut(i) tuttuilaagqutivuq (there are none of the usual reindeer)
- ilangar tuapailangartuq (he takes pebbles repeatedly)
- innгаа(r) atigiinnгааtuq (she is not wearing her atigi)
- innia(siu) niqiinniatuq (he is almost out of meat)
- (d)janngit takudjangitara (I certainly didn't see him)
- (guma)jarsu(g) tiiturumajarsutuq (she prefers to drink tea)
- jiari katajiaarivaa/katagaujiaarivaa (she dropped it)
- laar tikilaarpuq (he will come (tomorrow))
- latsi tukiqalatsingitakka (I realized they didn't make sense)
- liaar puiji ijiliaarpuq (the seal showed its eyes)
- limaaq inulimaat (all the people)
- liniu kakattaauliniuvuq (she is used to being carried piggy-back)
- lirngu Janimut niqilirnguquq (he is jealous at J. for his meat)
- litainna(r) nirilitainnatunga (I ate for the first time in a long while)
- litta(r) puijilittatuq (he comes across many seals)
- littaa(r) sikulittapuq (he's fed up/hindered by the ice)

- liuma sapiliumajuq (he stopped from discouragement)
- liut(i) niriliutivagit (I invite you to eat (with me))
- luqaa taitsumani-luqaa (once upon a time...)
- mii(k) kappianamiik (how scary it is!)
- mmait atimmaituq (he has not yet put his clothes on though he should have)
- naaqqut(i) sininaaqqutivaa (he found him sleeping)
- naar naammaanaarpaa (he makes it just right)
- ngaar audlalangangaartuq (he is going away rather)
- nianngu(u)r aliasungniangurivaa (he supposes him happy)
- nitsa kaminitsapug (she is working on a boat)
- nngiuma adlagunnangiumagama (because I haven't been able to write for a long time)
- paa audlarumapaa (how I want to leave!)
- qaqqi(r) anaanaqaqqipug (he respects/values his mother)
- qgau tikiqqaujuq (he came today)
- qutit taqajuqutit (the little one is tired!)
- ~~ratar silaqqiratarpuq (the weather is good, you can see)~~
- raalug piiraalugit (get the hell out of here!)
- ratar silaqqiratarpuq (the weather is good, you can see)
- ruutari niriruutarijuq (he ate with great appetite)
- sidjuu umiarturasuarsijuugama (because I had this lousy idea of traveling by boat)
- sima kiinarsimavara (I recognized his face)
- simangaar tunusimaŋgaartuq (he turned back on purpose)
- (r)sur puursupug (she rummaged around in the bag)
- tsaag qukiutitsaara (my spare gun)
- tsajag atigitsajag (material for making an atigi/parka)
- tsangaar tiitutsangaagqunga (I'll take some tea with pleasure)
- tsa(laa)ruar ilummuulitsalaaruarama (for fear (my boots) would let water in)
- ttaili pairittailivug (she won't look after herself)
- tuuma silaqqituumajuq (it's been good weather for several days)
- ~~umiaar aannialiumiaarpug (it hurts gradually more and more)~~
- unaar marruunaarpait (he put them in groups of two)

- lihaar audlalihaartuq (he's just left)
- limait tuhalimaittuq (she didn't/couldn't hear)
- liqaa qanurliqaa (however/whichever way)
- liqutigi tugtuliqutigijaa (it was his own reindeer)
- lraar hungunarhilraartuq (one is getting to be disgusted with him!)
- lugtar ulrulugtartunga (poor/silly me, I fell over)
- lukaar ~~arpalukaalaqipluni~~ (half walking, half running)
- mun[^]gau kangimung[^]gaujuq (he is going towards the bottom of the bay)
- nag tugtunagtuq (there are lots of reindeer)
- nagha nanuq nuinaghajuq (a bear might show up)
- nahiq qim[^]mirnahiq (wretched/miserable dog)
- navig qajarnavigtaa (he broke his kayak)
- niagqaar tikikkumi tuharniaqqaarhuni (if she had come she would have heard)
- ninnqur niqighaninngurtuq (he got something to eat, lucky fellow)
- (n)nir tuqunnirtuq (it seems he's dead)
- paluir hikupaluirtuq (the ice has broken up)
- qahiri aniqahirijaa (she wanted him to go out with her)
- tilaag uqartilaanganik nalujara (I don't know what he said)
- tiraanginnar tikittiraanginnaqquq (he arrived without difficulty)
- titkiig takitkiigtakka (I made them the same length)
- (t)tai itirtailuhi (don't go in!)
- utari iglautarijuq (she burst out laughing)

c) NORTH SLOPE

- a[^]jaaq taniajaaq (person who is half white)
- aq sitquaqtuq (he hurt his knee)
- at[^]ak imiat[^]aktuq (he began to drink heavily)

vaadlu(n) nirititauvaadlutuq (he gets fed when he is no longer hungry)
(ju)vinig itirtuviniq (he came in)
vittalik qimminik tadlimavittalik (one having five dogs)

B) COPPER

dja imidjavutit (you shall/should drink)
dlangniaralar tuqudlangniaraluartuq (he could die)
ghaar qikirtamiughaalirtuq (he'd been a long time on the island)
ghajaa puadlaghajaangani (because he had to fatten up)
 (m) (m)
ghamaar uighamaaqgaa (she wanted him as her husband)
ghaunahuar audlaghaunahuartuq (he will leave sometime or other)
ghaunrir paugaghaunrirtuq (it -e.g. sea -can no longer be paddled through)
ghauvag audlaghauvagtuq (he is always on the point of leaving- but doesn't)
himanait inughimanaittuq (he didn't come across any people)
(t)hir kiithirtuq (he got bitten)
hirtur nauliriarhirturhuni (pretending to prepare to throw his harpoon)
hurhaar kivipkarhurhaartaa (he let it sink on purpose)
~~ilrut~~ ~~nipaluilrut~~ (place without rain)
iliur haviiliuqquq (he asked for a knife)
ilrit taangilrirtuq (he was no longer in the dark)
ilrut nipaluilrut (place without rain)
innariilagi pihuinnariilaqijuq (he became able to walk again)
~~jaa(-ngani)~~ ~~hakuighijaamini~~ ~~igquiqquq~~ (he did exercises in order to get stronger)
juminafar takujuminafartaa (he made it difficult to see)
jutuqag nirijutuqag (he's always eating)
lair nungulairhugu (so that it doesn't run out)
lait tikilaittuq (he will not/cannot come)

- atčiaq avuatčiaqtuq (she's gone to ask for some sugar)
- gajag inna piguptigu qanurajaqpič? (what would you do if we did it
this way?)
- gšaq atigřugšaqpič? (did you get material for a snowshirt?)
- gsižžun qimmigšizžutaa (the dog he got as a gift)
- iaq gamutaiagtug (his car/sledge broke down)
- jumaatčiq isagumaatčiqsaa (she decided to get it)
- jumiñag aturumiñagiñ (it's OK for you to use it)
- jumman ikajurumman (desire to help)
- kaaq savikaanga (the knife he usually uses)
- ku maktakujumausi (save some of the maktak)
- laaq siqunriqsaarami atuqtug (he's so engrossed in singing that his
eyes are closed)
- lgu igña arnaq uqalgužug (that woman there is a gossip!)
- liržuaq isiqtiržuaqtuat (they managed to get in)
- (m)magaag savangmagaarung (see if he's working on it)
- (m)mi siningmižuaq isiarsižut (she's sleeping and they are about to
come in)
- ~~ng aakaang (mother dear)~~
- ngaag imingaaq (someone who is rather drunk)
- ngagii qiangagiliva? (has she stopped crying so much?)
- ngisiq katangisiqtug (he could have dropped it -but didn't)
- ngngug savangnguqtutin (lucky you having a job)
- niala makinnialažuaq tautuktara (I saw him trying to stand up)
- niłluk natčiq pilagnilukkaa (she's trying to flense the seal, poor dear)
- niasuk nutqarniasugłuta tautuktiržuarikpiñ (by stopping I got to see
you)
- niraq sagluniraqpaung? (did he accuse him of lying?)
- nnak saviññaktug (he won a knife)
- pajaaq takipajaaq (the longer one)
- paluk tuttupaluk! (what a big reindeer!)

- patluk amma igapatiuktuq (she's cooking even though I hadn't expected her to be able)
- pganga maktaktupqangažugut (we're enjoying this maktak after so long without it)
- gavigžungit amaruqavigžungiñgaan (when there weren't any wolves)
- rluaq atigirluaqtuq (she doesn't like the atigi)
- sausit uqadlautisausiitkaa (he doesn't have the heart to tell her)
- saužaq iqitčaužaq tara (I embraced her without hesitation)
- sigingit kamigsiqingitčug (he didn't bother to put his boots on)
- suit iglangasuitčug (he smiles funnily)
- tilaaq ipiktilaarung (check how sharp it is)
- tkuajaat North Slope Borough-tkuajaat (the North Slope Borough people)
- tłak(taq) kiutłaktaa (she answered him angrily)
- tqik atigitqiksuaq (he changed his atigi)
- unnaq savaunnatka (my work clothes)
- užaq savaužaqtuq (she's working quietly/poor dear)
- viaq qaiññagu, iiviaraa (don't give it to him, he might swallow it)
- žaraaq aturaaqta (let's sing)
- (r)žuiññag quliaržuiññaqtaa (he finally told about it)

(1)EAST GREENLANDIC

- aañia(-ami) (every time,23)
 alittivaq (now you'll see -!24)
 ga(a)ttag (very much/greatly,15)
 gajig/^{gajik} (bad/dear old,22/26)
 galittar (again & again,18)
 giaq (why! I wonder, Encl.)
 gitsi (have less/fewer,4)¹
 guttag (clumsily,16)
~~iar/iaa/ujar (vivid/momentary action,22/17)~~
 (irit) (lost/sold/dead,26)
 isaq/ilag (s.th. like a-,25)
 (laa)jarar (must,13)
 jivir/jivit (never,18)
 kkaajuk (intensity/very,24)²
 lañaar/ñiir (perfective/already,17)
 liaa (make into,8)
 lli/nii (more,15)
 lur/lir (begin,17)
 luur/liir (make,8)
 luvik/livik (container for,25)
 (n)na(-ami) (I wonder if perhaps,23)
 naar (say that,9)
 naarcaar (try to get to,11)
 nanngit (be not such as to,13)
 nasii (think that,9)
 naviiri (probably,20)
 ngiit (be discontented with,3)
 ngima/ima (want to,10)
~~ngiit (be discontent with,3)~~
 nginnaar/innaar (no longer,17)
 nginnar/innar (probably,20)
 ngusug (want to,10)
 niaannar (will absolutely,12)
 (nikkaajuk) ((be)one good to -,24)³

niguunngit (have never,18)
 nngivagajik (small,26)⁴
 pattag (a little,15)
 ppaarig (extremely(well),15)
 qqaar (for time being/still/first,18)
 qqaartari (there's danger that/take care not to,22)
 qqajanngit (not at all,21)
 qqiar/qqiaannar (just about to,17)
 (tsa)qqiari (would -if,20)
 qqitsaaq (exactly/without exception,26/Encl.)
 raa (doubt,Encl.)
 ŕuutsuaq/ŕuutsuativagajik (enormous,26)⁵
 (t)siilit/(t)suulit (means for going on/finding,25)⁶
 (t)siit (look for s.th. for s.o.,5)
 tsa/tsi/tsu (future,19)
 tsanganar (probably,20)
 tsaq (future,26)⁷
~~tsiilit/tsuulit (means for going on/finding,25)~~
 kar)
 (var/mu-(go to - demonstratives/pronouns,6)

(3) POLAR ESKIMO

- arhuk (little,26)
 dla(-git) (imperative modifier,22)
 dlagaluar(-tuq/mat) (although,23)
 dluar (really/completely,15/22)
 gadlar (first/for some time,18)
 ghar (get/provide with s.th. for a-,5)
 halir (vivid action,22)⁸
 hama (perfective,17)
 har (fetch,5)
 hhaaq
 hhaar/ (a lot/big,15/26)
 hhiir (stop -ing,17)
 hi(i) (how -:24)
 hinnaaraanngur (on point of,17)⁹
 hug (want to,10)¹⁰
 huit/juit (never,18)
 (hur) (catch,5)
 hutuqaq (still/all the time,24)¹¹
 huuhaar (pretend to,12)
 innariqattar (keep on -ing,16)
 ja(a) (future/~~about to~~,19)¹²
 jaar (about to,17)
 jair (no longer/stop,17)
 jama/gama (want to,10)
 junniir
 jungniir/ (no longer,17)
 kar (suddenly,16)
 kiaq (I wonder,Encl.)
 liar (hunt,5)
 lug (a little,15)
 mi/gi (again,22)
 miniq (former/remains of,25)
 nahugi (think that,9)

nauk (doubt/what on earth, Encl.)
~~(ng) (dear- addressing relative, 26)~~
 niataar/nialug (try, 12)
 nir (apparently/indeed, 22)
 nit (smell of, 7)
 nnguapik/apik/^{apig} (dear/little, 26/22)
 nnguar (play at, 7)
 nnguatsiar (a little, 15)¹³
 pag(huar) (a lot/greatly, 15)¹⁴
 paluk/^{palug} (dear/little, 26/22)
 qa(-ngat) ((just) after, 23)¹⁵
 qailanngit (not have any, 4)¹⁶
 qattar (repetition, 18)
 qqa (perfective/past, 17/19)
 qqaar (recently/first, 19/17)
 rajaannguaq (tiny, 26)
 rajaar (terribly, 15)
 taar (get, 5)
 (†)taili (refuse to/will not -reflexive, 21)
 tsiaq (small, 26)¹⁷
 tsiarar (repetition/keep on -ing, 18)

(4) NORTH BAFFIN-AIVILIK

- (ra)adlag (imper.softener/easily,22/16)
- ai/ ngai (isn't that so?/hey!Encl.)¹⁸
- ala (Ai:easily/quickly,16)
- alag (Ai:small,26)¹⁹
- (ra)anig (Ai:perfective/already,17)
- (r)annuk (dear/little,26)
- arjug
- arjuk/ (little/a little,26,15)
- djaanngit/djaajunniir (will(definitely)not,20)²⁰
- djaikkut (means for preventing,24)
- djar (Ai:apt to/easily,13)
- djut (reason/means for,24)²¹
- ~~dlarik/ (real/really,26/22)~~
- dlataar
- dlataaq/ (Ig:real/really,26/22)
- gajalaur (would(in past) -if,20)²²
- innaujar (seem always to,9)
- (irsur) (do so many times,8)
- jaraa/gaa(-ngat) (whenever,23)²³
- jariagsaq (action/state,24)²⁴
- jariur (for first time,18)
- jugsau (probably,20)
- jumalisar (Ig:I'd like to,10)
- junnanngit²⁵ (never/cannot,13)
- ju(n)niir (no longer,17)²⁶
- ju(u) (distant past,19)
- (d)juumi (a little,15)
- ka (Ai:a moment,18)
- kaniar (Ai:will soon,19)
- ~~kaadlag (suddenly,16)~~
- kaurtur/kautigi (quickly/fast,16)
- kisaut(i) (compete at,12)

- kkannir/^{kanniq}_^ (again/more,18/Encl.)
 kkaq/kkaaluk (one who does a lot/well,24)²⁷
 kkiq (one with a big,25)
 kulunngit (certainly not,21)²⁸
 kusar (Ai: to the same degree,15)²⁹
 kutaag (tall/long,26)
 laaq (most,24)³⁰
 launngitainnar (Ig:on point of,17)
 laukag (for a while,18)
 laursimadjaajunnir (will definitely never,19)³¹
 (lirtur) (Ai:do so many times,8)
 (lisaq) (clothing for -body part,25)
 lua(-mut) (Ai:because so/too,23)
 lug(-ta) (Ai:lets-,22)
 lugtaaq (all,26)
 minngaar (come from,6)
 mi(g)tuuq(oh for a -,Encl.)
 miutaq (inhabitant of/thing worn on one's -,25)
 munngau (go towards,6)³²
 nasugi/gasugi (think that,9)
 nguug (feel like -ing,9)
 niku(-dluni/-mut) (because,23)
 (a)
 nilug (Ai:try,12)
 (n)nir (narrative past/Ai:apparently/indeed,19/22)³³
 ((a)niu) (live in.-demonstratives,1)
 niusau (Ig:about to,17)³⁴
 nnajug
 nnajuk/_^ (wretched/bad,26/22)
 nguug (feel like -ing,9)
 (nngiq) (one obsessed by,25)
~~nngug (be tired of -ing,9)~~
 palug (a little,15)³⁵
 pasaar (pleasantly/surprisingly,16)

- (pidlag) (a little/briefly,15)
- qai (maybe/probably,Encl.)
- qa(d)jaanngit (not have any,2)³⁶
- qalaur (for a while -imper.,22)
- qammaq/^{qammar} (bad/poor(ly),26/16)
- qataut(i) (do mutually,14)
- qaur (have many,4)
- qqajar (almost do,17)
- quaq (Ai:no good any more.,26)
- quuji (Ig:seem,9)
- (vigjua)raaluk (very much,26)³⁷
- ~~rajaar~~ (slowly,16)
- rалааq (small,26)
- (rar) (one after another/bit by bit,13)
- rujug (a little,15)³⁸
- rujuit (group/number of,26)
- (rujuq) (& surroundings/about -place,25)
- ruluk/^{rulug} (bad/awful/imperative strengthener,26/22)³⁹
- (li)saar (just now/for first time,19/18)⁴⁰
- saar/saali (quickly/early/soon,16)
- saritu (slow to,13)
- (si) (catch sight of⁴¹-animal,5)
- suar (Ai:want to,10)
- suit/juit (never/rarely/Ai:can no longer,18/13)
- (sung)nit
- sunni(i)k/(smell/taste of,25/7)
- su(g)saut(i) (compete at catching,12)
- suujar (for a long time,18)
- taasaag (newly acquired,26)
- tainnar (at last/Ai:have just,17/19)
- tannaq (Ig:short and fat,26)
- (tappiar) (might,20)⁴²
- t4ar (intensifier/ a lot,22)⁴³

ttar (Ai:at awkward moment,16)
 ttau (Ai:have/be a good-,4/1)⁴⁴
 ttiar (well/really,16/22)
 ttiavammarik (really good,26)
 tur (Ai:pretend to,12)
 ugaq (Ai:long & straight,26)
 usi^vvik (Ad:container for,25)
 valatti (sound like,9)
 vig (really/for good,15)

(5) SOUTH BAFFIN

(ra)adlag (imperative softener/easily, 22/16)
 ai/ngai (isn't that so?/hey! Encl.)¹⁸
 (r)annuk (dear/little, 26)

~~ai/ngai~~

djaanngit (will (definitely)not, 20)

djaikkut (means for preventing, 24)

djut (reason/means, for, 24)²¹

dlatuq (Do:short, 26)

gai/lirai(-ngmat) (whenever, 23)

gajalaur (would(in past) if, 20)²²

galait/galaat (group/number of, 26)

gusiq (Do:secondary, 26)

jariagsaq (action/state, 24)²⁴

ju(n)niir (no longer, 217)²⁶

ju(u) (distant past, 19)

~~kaadlag (suddenly, 16)~~

(kadlak) (Do:older of two -names, 26)⁴⁵

kaurtur/kautigi (quickly/fast, 16)

kisaut(i) (compete at, 12)

kkannir/kan-^{nig} (again/more, 18, Encl.)

kkaq/kkaaluk (one-who does a lot/well, 24)²⁷

(ju)kuluapik (C.P:because, 24)⁴⁶

kutaaq (tall/long, 26)

laaq (most, 24)³⁰

(lisag) (clothing for -body part, 25)

lugtaa (all, 26)

luinnar (F.B:continually, 18)

(ju)miniq (C.P:former/remains of/past, 25/19)

minngaar (come from, 6)

mi(g)tuuq (oh for a -, Encl.)

miutag (inhabitant of/thing worn on one's -,25)
 munngau (go towards,6)³²
 nasugi/gasugi (think that,9)

niku(-dluni/-mut) (because,23)

nnajuk/nnajug (wretched/bad,26/22)

~~munngau~~

nngitainnar (Do: not yet,17)

~~nngug~~

paaluk (very/much,26)⁴⁷

palug (a little,15)³⁵

pasaar (pleasantly/surprisingly,16)

patsiuk (C.P:wretched/nasty,26)

qadlaq (short,26)

qalaur (for a while -imperative,22)

qammaq/qammar (bad/poor/ly),26/16)

qataut(i) (do mutually,14)

qattar (often/repetition,18)

rалааq (small,26)

rar (repetition,18)⁴⁸

(li)saar (just now/for first time,19/18)⁴⁰

saar/saali (quickly/early/soon,16)

~~sungni:/sungniq (smell of,7/25)~~

suujar (for a long time,18)

taaг (Do: adopted,26)

taasaag (newly acquired,26)

tainnar (at last,17)

(tappiar) (might,20)⁴²

tsiavik (very good,26)

tuuq (there are many,24)⁴⁹

valatsi (sound like,9)

vaq (Do: big,26)⁵⁰

vig (really/for good,15)

(6) LABRADOR

ania (repeatedly/keep on,18)
 ag(g)ulak (nice/small,26)
 atsuk (dear,26)
 (atti/ittu(g)) (do so many times,8)
 dlaqi (become a little,17)
 dluak (one good at/big enough for/which suits one,25/26)
 dluatsiak (real,26)
 dlugig (much/a lot,15)
 gaa(g) (say,9)
 galaag/^{galaak} (a little/a few,15/26)
 galag/^{galak} (now and then/almost,13/26)
 gasugi (think that,9)
 gi (again -unexpected/unfortunate action,22)⁵¹
 gumaluar (prefer to,10)
 gusi(k) (secondary/another kind of,26)
 hai (isn't it?Encl.)
 iqi (have one's - exposed,4)
 (jaa) (in process of,17)
 jaa/taa(-ngani) (while,23)
 (jaagi) (on purpose,16)
 juig (never,18)
 (kaa) (do so many at a time,8)
 kalau(g) (for the time being,18)⁵²
 kammaag (be wearing a - too big for one,4)
 kka (use/have on,8)
 kkaa (too much/precipitously,15)
 kkalug (badly,16)
 (nilu)ku(k) (remains of,24)
 kuluk (poor/miserable/small,26)
 (nilu)ku(k) — (remains of,24)

kumig (a little,15)
 la (say several times,9)
 ((pi)laa(g)) (repeatedly/keep on,18)
 laalir (will then,19)⁵³
 ((d)laat) (lots of,26)
 lautsima (perfective/have before/once upon a time,17/19)⁵⁴
 (liqi) (have a bad,4)
 liaqi (start,17)
 liu(m)mi (more and more,15)
 luar (more,15)
 luatlag (too,15)
 lugasak/lukak (bad,26)
 (lutak) (s.th. to make more -,24)
 luvinik (a lot of,26)⁵⁵
 mittuuk (I wish I had some -,Encl.)
 mmaa(g) (a lot,plentifully,15)
 ngaag (Rig:beautiful/good,26)
 (n)niar (hunt/imperative softener,5/22)⁵⁶
 niat(-kuni) (and then -ing,23)
 niaqqau (say that one would,20)⁵⁷
 (qqa)nikisautik (competition at,24)
 nngu (be tired of/have a bad(sensation),9/4)⁵⁸
 paa(paa) (very much,15)
 ppalai (seem like/apparently,9/20)⁵⁹
 ppalar (sound like,9)
 qqaak (big/most important,26)
 qqu (ask to,11)
 (qquag) (hit on the-,8)
 qutigi (like/find pretty,3)
 qutit (useless/disgusting,26)⁶⁰

saa(g) (first/for time being,18)⁶¹
 saat~~t~~ag (quickly/right away,16)
 (sik) (thing for -ing,24)⁶²
 simalir_u (pluperfect/now that -in past,19)⁶³
 sinnar_u (finally,17)
 (va)(t)suak/^{suag}_^ (big/a lot,26/15)
 suungu (be able to/usually,13)
 ta(g)/ga(g) (repetition,18)
 tainna(g) (finally(now),17)⁶⁴
 tannak (broad/big,26)
 t~~l~~ar_u (very/wow!22)⁶⁵
 tsia(m)magik (real/true,26)
 ttaili (prevent from,11)⁶⁶
 tua(-guni) (I hope that/as long as,23)
 tuu (cost/eat,8)⁶⁷
 (v)vadlaa (sound like,7)

(8) CARIBOU

- ala (with ease/quickly, 16)⁶³
- alag/araq (small, 26)⁶⁹
- anig (already/perfective, 17)
- blag/bladnaaq (B.L: a little, 15/26)
- djanngit (will not (at all), 19)
- ~~alar~~ (~~intensifier/very, 22~~)
avig
- dluavik/dlu- (E.P: real (ly), 26/22)
dnaar
- dnaaq/ (little, 26/22)
- gaig(-pat) (whenever -in future, 23)
- gajak (B.L: little, 26)⁷⁰
- gajug (E.P: easily/tend to, 13)
- galag (B.L: easily/tend to, 13)⁷¹
- gar (repetition, 18)
- haar (recently/just, 19)⁷²
- hi (E.P: exchange -s, 5)⁷³
- hinnar(-luni) (after, 23)
- huar/ruar (want to, 10)
- ju (E.P: habitually, 18)
- ka(r) (a moment, 18)
- kadnaar (E.P: will soon, 19)⁷⁴
- kahig (B.L: almost/fairly, 15)
- (k)kannir (again/more, 18)
- kkuma (want as, 3)
- kuni(i) (how- !24)⁷⁵
- la (say -, 9)
- la(hi) (B.L: on point of /E.P: easily/tend to, 17/13)⁷⁶
- laar (future, 19)⁷⁷
- lanngit (E.P: cannot/will not, 13)
- laur (general past/imper. softener -let's, 19/22)⁷⁸

lianikki (B.L:damn -it's happened again!22)
 lugtaa⁷⁹q (all,26)
 luqi (B.L:here & there/in different directions,18)
 luu^vva (even/or,Encl.)
 ma(-ngaat) (whether,23)
 mia⁸⁰q (just/any old,26)
 mihiur (be in/at,1)
 mmaar (B.L:very/much,15)
 muar⁸¹ (go to,6)
 najar/gajar (would /should,20)⁸²
 (tu)ngaar (B.L:more/greatly,15)
 nilriar/nilriaq (probably,20/24)
 nilug (try,12)
 nngitainnar (not yet/not at all,17/21)
 nngitsiar (not at all,21)
 pha(a)r (a little/almost,15)⁸³
 pighinna⁸⁴q (just,24)
 qqaartit(-nagu) (before,23)
 quaq (no good any more,26)
 raludnaar (B.L:a little,15)⁸⁵
 ruluk (small,26)
 taaq (E.P:new,26)
 (jur)taa⁸⁶q (E.P:the most,24)
 tainnar (just now/for first time,19/18)
 tainnanngit (have not(for some time)/not yet,17)
 tait (no have any,2)
 t~~h~~ar (intensifier,22)
 tsau (have/be a good,4/1)
 tsaunngit (have/be a bad,4/1)
 tsiar (be/have a good/much/really,1/4/15)
 (g)tua⁸⁶q (B.L:big,26)

tuinnaq (just/only,26)
tur (pretend to,12)
uqaq (long & straight,26)
uhiVvik (container for,25)
uqqar (several,18)
uqquu (E.P:probably/apparently,Encl.)
valaar (sound like,9)

(9) NETSILIK

- alugžuit (many, 26)
- (btur) (have more/bigger, 4)
- dja (vague future, 19)⁸⁷
- ~~dlar~~ ~~(very/intensifier, 15/22)~~
- dluatsiar (well, 16)
- gadlar (for time being/some time, 18)
- gajug (tend to/often, 13)
- giaqar/gialik (must, 13/24)
- giar (-nagu) (before, 23)
- haar (have just, 19)⁸⁸
- hiari (have happen to one/unintentionally, 14)
- hinnar(-iuni) (just after, 23)
- hug/jug (want/be eager to, 3/10)
- hugžuk/hug-_Λ (huge, 26)⁸⁹
- (lraa)innar (always, 18)
- jaar (soon/early/about to, 16/17)
- (lraa)(d)jailaq (one who has never -ed, 24)
- (d)jait/jainngit (cannot, 13)
- juir (cannot, 13)
- jumaaq (one found of -ing, 24)
- kadlak (poor/little, 26)
- (k)kannir (more ~~completely~~, 15)
- kkuma (want as, 3)
- laar (future, 19)⁹⁰
- liri (have a painful -, 3)
- lirtur (quickly, 16)
- lraa(na)lug (vivid action, 22)⁹¹
- lraarunar (to be sure/I tell you, 22)
- (d)lug
- (d)luk/_Λ (bad/big/poor, 26/22)⁹²

(d)lukkalar (in vain,16)
 mmariq (really,15/22)
 mmirtur (for time being,18)
 mug (go, to,6)
 ngaar (greatly,15)
 najar (would,20)⁹³
 nihaq (s.th. from -,25)
 nngivig/nngimmarig (not at all,21)
 paa(jarianga) (how-!24)
 panaluk/naluk (big,26/Encl.)⁹⁴
 (r)palaar (be heard,9)
 pituaq (only,26)⁹⁵
 qqajanngit (not at all,21)
 ratar (finally/intensifier,17/22)⁹⁶
 riannguar (vivid action,22)
 t~~tar~~ar (intensifier,22)
 tsau (have/be a good,4/1)
 tsiaq (little/good,26)
 tsiar (have/be a good/really,4/1/15)
 tuuma (a long time,18)
 (uhig) (thing for -ing,24)
 valug (sound/look like/probably,7/20)
 vig (really,15/22)

(11) MACKENZIE

- aasiin (and then, Encl.)
 aglaan (up to/even, Encl.)
 aluk (dear little/naughty, 26)⁹⁷
 ataar (hard/on & on, 16)
 dlar(pag) (very/intensifier, 22)⁹⁸
 (ru)ir(-ami) (after/when no longer, 23)
 ju (be good at/well, 13)⁹⁹
 juaq (active intrans. participle, 24)
 juar(-ani/-nagu) (can, 13)¹⁰⁰
 kabsag (rather, 15)
 kattaar (repetition/one after another, 18)
 (a)kkir (begin/prepare to, 17)¹⁰¹
 la (say, 9)
 (d)lagtuir (cannot/will not, 13)
 lgir (take/have with one, 4)
 liar (hunt, 5)
 limaaq (each/all, 26)¹⁰²
~~(d)lagtuir (cannot/will not, 13)~~
~~luagti (there at last! Encl.)~~
 ma(-ngaat) (whether, 23)
 manig (already/perfective, 17)
 mi (yet/why! Encl.)
 miu (be in/at, 1)
 mug (go to, 6)
~~ngajak (it seems/no doubt -exclamatory, Encl.)~~
 niatu (catch a lot of, 5)¹⁰³
 nnag (get, 5)
 nutim) (surprise, Encl.)
 paaluk (big, 26)
 pajaaq (most, 24/Encl.)
 pialait (hardly at all, 21)
 (t)qaamina(a) (if only one could -, Encl.)¹⁰⁴
 ratar(-nani) (without, 23)
 (l)ratar (at last/intensifier, 17/22)
 (mma)ringajak (one who -s well/s.th. well done, 24)¹⁰⁵
 sar (imperative modifier, 22)

(ru)sug/gug (want to,10)

(n)
sugnar (probably,20)

(dlag)taar (often/repeatedly,18)

tqinniq (most,24)¹⁰⁶

tquur (urge to,11)

tsiaq (small/nice,26)¹⁰⁷

~~(u)tugar (pretend to,12)~~

valug (sound/look like,7/20)

vik (real,26)

(13)KOBUK

ar(-mi) (when,23)
dlapaiq (really/quite a lot,15)

gisi (future,19)

iñ(-ngaan) (before,23)

iqsiq (loose/have one's -removed,2)

isug (fetch,5)

liilaa (why!/like , , Encl.)

lraaq (one who first,24)¹⁰⁸

ladlaq (very/a lot,15)

lauq (clumsily/heavily,16)

(sa)kikšar(-mi) (before one could,23)

tiq (action/result,24)¹⁰⁹

(p)ma(-ngaan) (whether,23)

(užar)naiq (little/poor,26)

našuk (think that,9)

nrit (negative,21)¹¹⁰

nuti(m) (surprise,Encl.)

pajaar(-man) (whenever,23)

~~paluk (probably/apparently,20)~~

pik (big/main,26)¹¹¹

psuug (also,Encl.)

qaa (isn't that so?Encl.)

~~(gaq)sanrit (for some time/continuously,18)~~

~~šainrit (never,18)~~

tai (why/isn't that so?Encl.)

(a)tčaiq/tčaijažaq (small,26)

tīqpaaluk (just now,19)

tjait (would not,20)

tjaq (would,20)¹¹²

tla (can,13)

tlait (cannot/never,13)¹¹³
tluk (more/most,15)
~~tuuq (would that,Encl.)~~
~~ugaaluk (much/very,15)~~
vaaluk (most,15)
vagit (too/very much,15)
vak (big/much,26/15)
valuk (apparently/must be,20)
viksuq (carefully/completely,16)

(14) SEWARD PENINSULA¹¹⁴'aa (and so, Encl.)¹¹⁵

ajaaq (group/collection of, 25)

aržuūžaq — (bad/badly, 26/16)

aluk/aluužaq (at length, 18)

apak (big, 26)

aržuūžaq (bad/badly, 26/16)

atjaaq (baby/young/half-breed, 26)

galaq (right away/quickly, 16)

giig (have a bad, 4)¹¹⁶gžusuk (old/big old, 26)¹¹⁷

jaq/raq (in succession/one after another, 18)

jauq (know how to, 13)

ju (well, 16)

juma — (should, 13)

must have/

jungnaq (probably, 20)

kalaq (already, 17)

kuunaaq (travel through/via, 6)

kužaq (quietly, 16)

(n)

lainaq (gradually, 17)

lgu (well, 16)

ližaq — (use, 8)

(gii)liut(i) (become mutual -s, 1)

ližaq (use, 8)

luk (not like/badly, 3/16)

luq (fortunately, 16)

(r)luusaaq (poor/unfortunate, 26)

ʔaaq (use/wear a new/new, 8/26)

(n)

(r)ʔainat (many, 26)

ʔiq (action/result, 24)

ʔiqi (have a sore -, 3)

ʔiuq (future, 19)

(r)ʔuk (bad/strange, 26)

- (p)mi(-uq) (although,23)
- miu (be in/at/inhabitant of,1/25)
- najaq ~~(could have,20)~~
- nasuaq (try,12)¹¹⁸
- (nažari) (be as - as,15)¹¹⁹
- niaq (go and get/hunt,5)¹²⁰
- (niuq) (be in process of,17)¹²⁰
- nngu (ask for,5)
- ngaag (more,15)
- nguluužaq (quietly/a while/small,16/13/26)
- nguuzi (act like/play at/not properly,7/16)
- ~~(n)nguq (cause envy by -ing,16)~~
- (a)^(s)pasuk (big/funny old,26)¹²¹
- (t)[^]pažak (excessively,15)
- ~~(a)pasuk (big/funny old,26)¹²¹~~
- pqaužaq (one who almost,24)¹²²
- out to
- (q) (call[^]one's -,9)¹²³
- ~~qaaq/rlaaq (first,13/26)~~
- rajaat (lots of,26)
- rlaaq (first,18/26)
- (m)[^]rlamiq (already/recent past,17/19)
- rlataq (about to,17)
- rnit/ngit (negative,21)
- (ruq/žuq) (be lucky in hunting -,5)
- sarataq (will try to,19)
- siag (be easy to,13)
- (n)[^]siinaq (more & more,17)
- sima (past,19)
- siužaq (for a while,18)
- suminaq (can,13)
- suq (well,16)
- taač (a little,15)
- tani (again,Encl.)

taq (repetition/keep on,13)¹²⁴
 tiklaaq (measure/check/extent of,9/24)
 tjanga (intend,12)
 tqigi (find too,9)
 (n)
 tquinaq (urge to,11)
 tu (a lot/habitually,15)
 tuaq (finally,17)
~~tuq (would that,Encl.)~~
 tuuma (perfective state,17)¹²⁵
 tuuqan (companion at-ing,24)
 uq/a/qa (in a group,18)
 usiq (get a supply of,5)
 uzaaq (speak -language,7)
 vadlia (probably,20)
 zuakša (one who should -,24)

- 16) Perhaps for gar plus laanngit (see W.Gr.).
- 17) tsiar can be used for subjective coloration, as can hinnaar, dlar, lug, (dla) pag and (a) piq.
- 18) Also 'please' (blandishment) ngai after double vowel or consonant other than t. Note also ilaak (isn't that so?) in Iglulik at least.
- 19) Also arurlak and galaarlak
- 20) Also djaagunniir (or djaarunniir). In Aivilik means rather 'cannot (any longer)'; and djaagunniirniar means 'will no longer'. Note djaagasugijunniir (think will not any longer).
- 21) In the sense of 'means/instrument' only after double vowel (otherwise ut). Harper also has juuti (one that is such' - participial jug plus uti?). Aivilik at least has ut(1) in the sense 'one's caught/stored thing'.
- 22) And gajalaunngit (would not). kasag/kasaar (almost) can apparently also have the meaning 'would'.
- 23) jaraa following vowel
Or giag/jariag (as Tarr.).
- 24) With personal possessive endings can form an object clause (whether-) following main verbs of knowing and feeling. jariaqar (giagar following consonant) used for obligation as in Tarramiut.
- 25) Or junanngit
- 26) Also gunniir (tunniir after t-stems) (similarly for juma, junnar, etc.).
junnair means rather 'can no longer', and junnaili = 'stop/no longer'.
Note also vagunniir (no longer habitually) and vagiir besides giir (already).
- 27) kkaaluk can also be used verbally (3rd person).
- 28) kuluk (dear little/kind, etc.) is very common (also subjective coloration)
- 29) Transitive = 'put in groups of same degree of -'
- 30) Whereas nirsag = 'more'. Note strengthened nirsaaluk/laaraaluk (most).
- 31) Also laursimadjaanngit and laursimaniviniq. laur (general past) and laar (general future) cover wider ranges in Aivilik than elsewhere.
- 32) As opposed to muar/mu(u)r (arrive at/have gone to). munngautit = 'take to'.
Note also anngau (come from) and uunau (go via) on demonstrative stems.
- 33) Negation follows (unlike further west). Meaning on Baffin close to Tarr., in Aivilik close to that in the west.
- 34) Also ligaa
- 35) And enclitic paluk = 'I guess/sort of'

- 36) qa(d)jaa can be used on its own impersonally (in exclamations?) according to Harper. ~~He notes also gaur (have many).~~
- 37) raaluk is the form of aluk following a double vowel (similarly raarjuk, and following a g-stem gaaluk can be found etc.). It can be enclitic following third person participial jug, etc. or adverbials (also raalungaa, exclam.), and can be a subjective coloration affix of disapproval, etc. Especially in Aivilik it can also mean 'bad'. Note the combination jaalugi for intensified transitive constructions, and (ra)alumniik (how -!) in exclamations. N. Baffin has variant dlaaluk.
- 38) Also 'very' in conjunction with adjectival stems of smallness; can be enclitic (rujuk).
- 39) In Aivilik rather 'small' or 'miserable'. guluk is less strong than ruluk (roughly 'miserable'). Note the subjective coloration affix guluu-jar corresponding to guluk.
- 40) Also 'just' before an imperative ending. Note nominal saag (one who has just -ed).
- 41) ruar after r-stems. suir/ruir = 'no longer (want to)'; note garuir (no longer have).
- 42) Only of undesirable events; followed by causative endings.
- 43) Thus tianngit (strengthened negation). Note tiartuar (thank heavens-). The same morpheme is presumably behind Harper's 'uiar(-mat)' (it is - identifying). Throughout the Keewatin there would appear to be some fluctuation between dlag/dlar and tjar (to judge from texts).
- 44) And ttaunngit (have/be a bad) (apart from its use as in Tarr.) apparently
- 45) As opposed to kuluk (younger); used when two people have the same name.
- 46) Nominal form used verbally/adverbally
- 47) And enclitic following participial jug, etc.
- 48) At Cumberland Peninsula more like N. Baffin semantically. tar also not uncommon for repetition.
- 49) Used verbally
- 50) Also juarjuk (at least on names)
- 51) And mmi, which means rather 'again for sure/nevertheless'. Note combi-

- nations giadlag(again) and giigi(again so soon).
- 52) Especially .before the optative mood;can be enclitic following an adverbial expression('for now').
- 53)Refers to time after today;for today nialir is used.
- 54)And lautsimanngit/lautsimagunnair(not for some time now/have never)
- 55)Often exclamatory -'what a lot of-!'
- 56)And note niak(one who hunts -)
- 57)Refers to today;for time before today nialaur is used(he said -e.g. yesterday -he would).
- 58)Also unngu(be tired of -ing)
- 59)And note (ju)uppalai(it was discovered that-)and ppaluk(look like/seem)
- 60)Especially in addressing s.o.(you -!)
- 61)Before negative imperative = 'not yet',but can also modify a positive command.Can be a nominal modifier(early -).
- 62)Note also utak and (g)utik,esp. for instruments.
- 63)For strengthened perfective('already')simagii(r) or giisima used.
- 64)And 'at last/for once'.Can precede laur in the sense of 'have just/recently'.
- 65)Also 'unfortunately/one must be careful because-'.Smith has another exclamatory affix t^ali(how - it has become),which is presumably a variant of li(become).
- 66)And 'be prevented from/be late -ing' when intransitive.Before imperative = 'try not to'.
- 67)In the sense 'eat' just a variant of tu(r).Note also tuuma(be eating).
- 68)Also harait and B.L.rrala apparently
- 69)Other affixes come across with this meaning are kuluk,ralak,B.L.luarjuk E.P.(ha)ajuk.
- 70)And gajar (a little)
- 71)And E.P:galahir (quickly)
- 72)And B.L:anighaar .Note nominal (ta)haag(one who just -ed).

- 73) With dual subject endings
- 74) Also kalaar and kaniar (and B.L. kattudnaar, acc. Schneider)
- 75) Originally 4th person singular conditional inflection
- 76) And lahijudnaangu. Note also E.P. lajug (easily/apt to).
- 77) More distant than niar.dja also found (can = 'apt to'?)
- 78) And laurhima (distant past) and lauqqaar(-tuni) (before)
- 79) Also a verbal modifier (lugtaar, 'completely'); can also be a nominalizer in verbal/adverbial use.
- 80) Enclitic to adverbials. Can be verbal modifier: miar (just). Note B.L.: jaamiar (as hard as possible[?]).
- 81) Transitive = 'put in'. E.P. has muliar where B.L. has mu(n)ngau. Also future?
- 82) Shortened to na/ga in B.L. especially by children, acc. Schneider. Note also E.P. (d) janalaur and najaqquur (would probably).
- 83) Schneider has 'pfrar', 'pva' and 'bva' in this meaning. It is probably related to Copper phaar (or pqa, 'barely'). Note nominal extender phaag (with a small-).
- 84) And note pi(g) (really?), especially in combination pigjuag/B.L. pigtuaq for exclamatory emphasis (how-!). Like pighinnaq, these are used verbally.
- 85) Also dnaar on its own, and E.P. padnaaq (quite a lot/almost) used with verbal/adverbial force, probably with the same initial element as in intensifier paki(lir). dnaaq following an adjectival stem of smallness can mean 'very'.
- 86) E.P. djuag or (r) juaq (the latter also B.L.); in combination with u (be) = gtuu/djuu, etc.
- 87) And lrajaa/tqajaa, which can apparently indicate a near future (or 'can') as well as 'be on point of'. Rasmussen has 'ja' for ja, probably reflecting original *tja.
- 88) Also 'get a new' with nominal stems apparently.
- 89) And žuaržuk. žuk (non-productive) can also mean 'small'.
- 90) Also 'for some time'. la(a)nngit = 'cannot'.
- 91) This and the following not common now. Like kublaar (ku'laar?) can also mean 'very' - in which case it can be followed by at least niar.dja

- and lir. In similar meaning also sometimes dlag (e.g. in dlagunar).
- 92) Also luk. Acc. Rasmussen also bluk after a vowel (for 'luk? cf. Caribou blag -for 'lag?). Enters into various intensifying combinations such as nnuadluk (naughty little) and dlugpak (greatly). Rasmussen also has hudluk and luuhaq (poor/bad) and dlugžuk (terrible).
- 93) na can also be found (as in Caribou -for simple future?).
- 94) Also pak (big/real)
- 95) The same initial element as in pinngit (not at all)?
- 96) Rasmussen also has tuar (otherwise = 'all right/well' -for luar?).
- 97) Especially after participial jug; also as affix of subjective coloration (alug). Note also (tu)arjuk (little), aluumaak (dear -in addressing s.o.), kalug (naughty little), and rasug (poor) to be found in Rasmussen's texts.
- 98) Or tvar? (difficult to tell from Rasmussen). dlag is found in the sense 'strongly/at a single blow', and note dlalraalug as an intensifier.
- 99) And, according to Métayer, janga (badly).
- 100) The same affix as ⁱⁿ Rasmussen's juernagu/⁽ⁿ⁾juarani (without -ing)? Note also his (u)tugar (pretend to).
- 101) And (g)arsiakkir
- 102) Also dlaat. Both belong rather to the Inupiaq varieties heard in the Delta (as do pialait, aasiin and aglaan on the list). On the other hand lait as a simple negative and ruar (have), both found in Copper, seem ~~more~~ common here.
- 103) For niartu? Note also Rasmussen's (q)gau (jug)saudju (g) (challenge to contest at catching-), probably related to the forms in footnote 108.
- 104) Probably not used any longer. The same is true of Rasmussen's enclitic luagti (there at last).
- 105) Nominalizer ngajak is also found in lungajak (one who badly) and nangajak (one that is such).
- 106) Also (d)liq, 3rd sing. possessed lra
- 107) Also atsiaq, and tsiaq for subjective coloration (smallness). Note also mmi (a bit) -for umi? -and ligti (partly/a little).
- 108) Zibell's texts have lrautžagsaruk (compete at), related no doubt to lrautžag (be the first to do).
- 109) 3rd sing. possessed rha
- 110) ngngit for some (lower) Malimiut. Webster and Zibell also have ^(never)sainrit.
- 111) Also 'real' apparently
- 112) Probably tja, with tjaq (imperative modifier as in tjariñ) a separate item.

113) And outlait (forbid). Note also (a) limait (not have time to).
 114) This list is, strictly, for King Island alone. Other affixes mentioned by Menovshchikov for Imaklik that might be found on Little Diomed Island (and/or other Seward Peninsula sub-dialects) include the following (in the forms quoted except where I have adjusted the vowels to my orthography and reinstated some deleted consonants): juraq/(g) iaq (group of), tuag (old/bad), žuk (little), lik (one good at making -), patuaq (big/terrible), tale (-ness/quality nominalizer), niit (unable to), vžirag (repetition), kaq (now and then), (q) naug (a long time), vjaq (almost), sira-luraq (try to), tuuma (-an) (while doing s.th. with -), nižagpi (žuaq) (extremely/most), gaqtaq (distributive -numeral stems), jawataq (begin), žaq (sudden/momentary action), žutug (quickly), niirag (stop -ing), suk (want to/future), situužag (pretend to), viužag (really/completely), niug/laq (make), ngag (acquire), jaq (go to -object), žvežagag (have), niina (-mini) (before), žuužag (bad), niunag (good time for catching-), glataq (slowly), luaq (intend), gužaraq (well), ngngag (-mi) (although), (r) igu (k) (again), u (-nani) (not having-), and (si) ma (past). The 'e' in these forms is 'i₂' ([ə] here). Some of them clearly derive from Siberian Yupik. Further investigation of their morphophonemics is required.

115) Preceded by glottal stop

116) Especially of (painful) body parts

117) Also (a) suk (old). Note also kug (discarded/used).

118) And nasuangit (not bother to)

119) Attached to stems of descriptive quality

120) Following stems of perception

121) Kaplan has (a) pazuk, which is a weakened form, and has pasuk as an affix of subjective coloration ('pathetically'). Doubtless the same morpheme -etymologically passuk. On the list all original geminates could be consistently marked by single letters (Kaplan's practice) since phonetic length is automatic after the beginning of a word. Note that S.P./ss/ often corresponds to N.S. /tč/ (e.g. assak, 'aunt').

122) As verbal modifier = 'barely manage to'

123) For stems of family relationship only

124) And žag indicates habitual activity

125) Can passivize transitive stems

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

The accessibility of material from other dialects is unfortunately made difficult by a bewildering variety of orthographic systems. These can be summarized under three main headings:

a) SYLLABICS. Most material (local magazines and papers, etc.) in the eastern Canadian area - minus Labrador but also including Netsilik and Caribou - is written in the syllabic script introduced by a missionary, J. Peck, in the late nineteenth century. The official policy of the Inuit Cultural Institute is now towards parallel presentation in roman orthography (see below) and syllabics, older Inuit in this area not wishing to abandon the latter, regarding it as part of their heritage. The revised version is not difficult to master, one symbol representing one syllable (e.g. /ti/, /ta/, or /tu/); the symbols used can be found, among other places, in 'Ajurnarmat', summer 1978. The problem is that most older - and some more recent - material does not represent vowel length or syllable-final consonants at all (thus /tar/, /tag/ and /ta/ or /taa/ all being represented by the same symbol). There is considerable fluctuation between the older and newer conventions in contemporary syllabic material and this may be reflected in the roman transliterations that accompany it.

b) ROMAN ORTHOGRAPHY (PHONEMIC). Whereas the Inuktitut roman orthography adopted by the Inuit Cultural Institute presents no serious problems for reading, it should be borne in mind that it is a 'lowest common denominator' for many dialects and thus does not break up consonant clusters (spelt 'll', 'jj', etc.) into the original clusters still found in the more westerly of these dialects (R. Gagné's system, from which the I.C.I. norm developed, did so, however). Nor does it generally indicate final nasals (as opposed to the corresponding stops), the glottal stop, the /ʒ/ variant of /j/, or the /h/ variant of /s/. 'qr' is used for /rr/, and /q/ and /k/ are used in clusters before other consonants where Greenlandic script has /r/ and /g/; the 'o' and 'e' allophones of /u/ and /i/ in the latter are also not used. The one unusual symbol it employs is '&' for the voiceless lateral (in dialects where it occurs), which in texts edited by non-Inuit is usually represented by 't' - the symbol used in Alaska and also in the present manual. It also has such combinations as 'uva' and 'ija', which in the new Greenlandic orthography (due to the weakening of /v/ and /j/ in such positions and the automatic nature of glide-insertion between vowels) appear as 'ua' and 'ia'.

In older texts other roman orthographies can be met: in Labrador the script used by Moravian missionaries (based on Kleinschmidt's for Greenland) and, in various parts of the rest of the Canadian Arctic, local variations of roman script introduced by the Hudson Bay Company and still used in

the Copper and Mackenzie areas. These latter are greatly underdifferentiated, not distinguishing /k/ and /q/ nor showing vowel or consonant length at all. An attempt is being made in the Copper region to introduce school material in a phonemic alphabet much like the I.C.I. norm, but with 'k' instead of 'q'.

In Alaska a more or less phonemic orthography introduced by linguists from the Summer Institute of Linguistics is used, employing the special symbols 'l', 'ł', and 'ñ' for palatalized consonants. Earlier 'k' has been replaced by 'q', but 'r' for [ɹ] (my 'ž') has unfortunately (for non-Alaskans) been maintained, /r/ being represented by 'g'. It also uses 'rh' for [x] and 'gh' for [χ], 'ch' for palatal /č/ and 'sr' for /š/ (in my orthography). For dialects with 'diphthong reduction' the underlying diphthong (as in Barrow) is generally indicated (though some fluctuation should be expected). Central Alaskan and Pacific Yupik now employ a phonemic orthography developed at the Alaska Native Language Center which is close to the new Greenlandic, but with 'll' representing a single voiceless lateral (similarly for other fricatives), 'ñ' etc. for voiceless nasals, 'ûg' etc. for labialized velars, 'c' for [tʃ]/[ts], 'e' for the 'fourth vowel' [ɘ], and a distinction between voiced 's' ([z]) and voiceless 'ss' ([s]). Material in Siberian Yupik (apart from that produced by the Native Language Center) is in Russian Cyrillic script.

For those outside of Greenland not familiar with the older (Kleinschmidt) orthography still used in parallel with the new one, it should be pointed out that /q/ is represented there by capital 'K', /s/ (from 'j₂') is 'ss', and geminate vowels or consonants are broken up to show their origins in clusters and sequences obliterated now by assimilation - note especially 'vdl', 'tdl' or 'gdl' for /ll/. The three special superscripts '˘', 'ˆ', and '˜' indicate gemination in the following consonant, lengthening of the vowel, and a combination of both, respectively. Mention too should be made of the plans for extending the new Greenlandic orthography for the East Greenlandic and Polar Eskimo dialects: this will necessitate a compromise such that, for example, East Greenlandic /r/ (^{k/q}) will be represented by 'r' (to which it corresponds in West Greenlandic) and /r/ by 'q' for the sake reason of maintaining the parallel with the West Greenlandic orthography, to which speakers of these dialects are already exposed.

c) PHONETIC ORTHOGRAPHIC SYSTEMS

Linguistic transcriptions of spoken material, such as those of Rasmussen and Holtved, often employ the International Phonetic Alphabet (or some variant of it) to indicate precise variations in pronunciation necessitating the use of more than one symbol for a particular phoneme, according (The superscripts in the last two cases can be left out in printing)

to precise context. This can present difficulties to the non-specialist, as one has to take into account changes brought about by speed and emphasis, etc., and also the influence of the transcriber's own ear and linguistic background. Rasmussen's Greenlandic background thus probably caused him to hear and write voiceless geminate fricatives in some cases for dialects in which they are really voiced. Some of the differences from the I.P.A. symbols (for which see, for example, copies of the 'Principles of the International Phonetic Alphabet') to be found in material transcribed by those such as Rasmussen following the Danish phonetic tradition include 'L' for [ɬ], 's' for [ç], 'q' for [ŋ], 'R' for [X], 'g' for [χ], and a dot following a vowel or consonant to indicate length.

Some writers have employed something half-way between a phonemic and a phonetic script. This includes M. Métayer in his Copper Eskimo texts, which are written with symbols close to the new Greenlandic orthography but with some confusing variation in vowel and consonant length; the tendency is to indicate length only when it is phonetically prominent or serves a word-distinguishing function. 'ng' is thus rarely written geminate - and in affix-initial position there may well be some phonetic truth behind the convention, nnngit ^{and} seeming to vary with ngit, for example in western Inuktitut, rarely needs to be clearly geminated to distinguish meanings. Schneider's important grammatical and lexical works on Tarramiut also fall somewhere in this area. As in the case of Métayer his conventions become clear with familiarity; note in particular that he doesn't indicate recent assimilation of /k/ plus consonant to /t/ plus consonant, that he uses 'rgr' for /rr/ and 'ngr' for /rng/, and that he has 'o' and 'e' for /u/ and /i/ before some consonants other than uvulars.

A few notes on the application of the orthography used in the present work to the sample texts (as numbered) are required:

- 1) EAST GREENLANDIC. I have indicated all final stops, even though they are generally unexploded and thus not easily heard except via the effect they may have on the preceding vowel. I have reduced all intervocalic /k/s and /q/s to the corresponding fricative even though the original transcription did not (the speaker was, according to Petersen, adapting his speech to some degree towards West Greenlandic). Note that there is sometimes fluctuation between /i/ and /u/ in the same word form: there is quite a lot of hypercorrection here (often in the direction of W.Gr.).
- 3) POLAR ESKIMO. I have maintained Holtved's fluctuation between final nasals and stops (not necessary on strictly phonemic grounds) since it is an important phonological feature of the dialect. Sequences /ija/ and /uva/ I have kept, as for all dialects except West and East Greenlandic,

and all clusters with /l/ are written voiced.

6) LABRADOR. Geminate fricatives are to be understood as voiceless (as in W. Greenlandic), and /q/ as a fricative where it occurs (as also for Tarramiut and Cape Dorset non-final /q/). I have left throughout the voiced alternative forms for the (past) contemporative mood (as in the original).

8) CARIBOU. I have changed 's' to 'h' and 'v' plus consonant to 'b' plus consonant, in line with other western dialects. I have not marked the glottal stop (though 'd' before another consonant generally implies it, as does a voiced consonant before an /m/ in many cases - when corresponding to an original voiceless stop). I have corrected several occurrences of 'ng' plus nasal to 'r' plus nasal (the syllabics for the ^{western} regions often does not distinguish between uvular and velar in such positions).

~~taanna, taapkua and taamna (that/it, etc.), as in other western texts, though Originally there was a distinction between tainna, etc. (distant object) and taanna, etc. (near object). In Tarramiut at least there is still a distinction between taanna (near object) and tainna (object out of sight, = western taimna/taamna).~~

9) NETSILIK. Glottal stop not indicated. I use 'h' for 's' except following another consonant, to mark the different treatment of these clusters from that in Caribou and Copper. I have replaced Rasmussen's contemporative '-klugu', etc., by '-glugu', etc. As in most of his western (and Iglulik) texts, Rasmussen adopted the convention of writing voiceless /t̥/ ('L') after r-stems but not elsewhere, indicative of his general lack of principled distinction between voiced and voiceless continuants.

11) MACKENZIE. I have everywhere replaced Rasmussen's 'ʃ' by 'j' (he may have heard /ʃ/ where necessary) and his 'L' by 'l' where the voiceless consonant is clearly not meant (as in his 'iglu'). I have reinstated -dluni, etc., in cases where he has '-vluni' following a t-stem. He often has 'gl' or 'bl' for /dl/. I write 's' rather than 'c' following a consonant.

13) KOBUK. I have converted all diphthongs to their reduced forms ('ai' and

'au' being monophthongs as explained in the text). The glottal stop is not indicated except between vowels(as ').

14) SEWARD PENINSULA. I have put all consonants in their weakened forms where weakening occurs. Note the need of the extra symbols 'w' and 'z' for weakened /v/ and /s/. I write geminates in strong position when etymologically appropriate even in cases (like ainpaaga) where contrast with the corresponding single segment is impossible.

In so far as ~~this~~ was possible I have chosen complete stories or episodes for the following texts, but as will be seen some pieces represent excerpts from larger works (for example that from "Sanaaq", which is a complete novel). Only a few doubtful or repetitious words have been left out from the texts. Some of the western Canadian texts may have an archaic flavour today.

1) EAST GREENLANDIC

"Some Forms of Magic"

(from ms. of Appollo Kaajammat, ed. R. Petersen)

B:Taanna tupilattaat iqqartutsuat Cippurtuumi
That the tupilak you caught you should tell about in Sipportooq

pilat.

caught by you.

A:Cippurtuumi pilaavaña, tupilaaquuraaq, tupilaavurmiilaa.

In Sipportooq I caught it, it must have been a tupilak, yes it was a
Taagani tappavannga anittagaattiq qinnguanit
tupilak for sure. Over there from in there as it came out from the bot-

aqqattattaanginnartiq, avalappingalungu
tom of the fiord, it diving down now and then, paddling towards it

naalippaãra kinnguttungali. Paalinni arcaaãraanga. Kinngi-
I harpooned it but (then) capsized. The paddle it pulled from me. Having

ngama maglijaama paalikka puttattañiircimalit. Timmut
capsized when I came up again my paddle was already floating. To land

iirtaajaama, caqqisinga imaañaluañakku angitsittaalittungu.
when I paddled, my kayak I emptied of water so it wouldn't get soaked

Arniřaakka irittařaluařakku¹ qaasirniřannit puutsiijarni-
through. My clothes I wrung them out because they were wet while waiting

añaluartungu. Niiniartip aqqaamaniññanittiraa
for it to come up. A hooded seal's (and perhaps) more than its time of

civitturni[~]risimaliq. Culi puinngitsimik ikkivingi-
staying underwater it was longer than. Still before it came up I reached

¹For irittařaluařakkitt (hypercorrect)

innarpãra. Tappavunga timmut puttariṃma qilurulaa tattani
 it in my kayak. In there to land my float's wooden section there
 tiisaṛalungu aatsaat tappavani nunami turuppãra.
 taking hold of it only then up there on land I killed it.

Tupilaat attaatsusiranngittat, taava cuurtu puili cakkatsiaq.
 Tupilaks are identical ¹, that is like a seal medium-sized.

Tamakkua makkiva canaalaminnik tupittigajiraat aat?
 These people (they) formed by themselves they make tupilaks right?

Piqqinaarnangit taamaatturarpat turuluratsaqqajanngilaq
 Deformed if they were (like that) no one would die (of seeing)

tupilammik. Taamaattiq puililit taamaalittingi aaqqitsuutiijãraa-
 a tupilak. However like a seal making it (thus) when someone pro-

ngattik puilaalittungu naalikkaangamikki tuqqu-
 duced one believing it to be a seal when they would harpoon it they

lingilarpaat attaatsusiranngitsinik. Ircina-
 would die of it (because) they would be just the same (as a seal). Really

kkaajuttuagajinnik canaakkaminnik aaqqitsuilarput. Tupilannik taamaattu-
 frightening made things people produce. Tupilaks there are

ranngilaq. Kisiat puiliniṭṭattaatsusiranngitsinik tupittilarput.
 none such as that. Only seals things just like they make

Taamaattiq puilaalittungu naalikkaangamikku
 tupilaks. Such a one believing it to be a seal when one harpooned it
 tuqquliilarpaat. Taamaapput taakkiva cuuttiqqitsaat.
 one would die of it. They were like this those people in the old days.

¹ i.e. to the thing in whose image they are made

B:Tupilaap kisi niilaavaa?

A tupilak what would it eat?

A:Tupilaat niiniq ajirput. Ua taakkua cuguirtungit uraalingii-

Tupilaks eating would not. I these things explaining them as I talked

jañakkit Uittumut puiqqitsaarcimanngilanga.

about them to Victor I remember them well.

2) WEST GREENLANDIC

"Common Writing"

(J.Fleischer, Atuagagdliutit, June 26th, 1980)

Nunarput ukiuq manna qaaqqusisuuvuq Inuit ataatsimiirsuarni-
 Our country year this is the host of the Inuit (for) a big meeting.

ranni. CIC-ip pilirsinniqarniratigut nunatta
 The Inuit Circumpolar Conference by starting our coun-

akurnanni atassutiqaqatigiinnissamut pingaarutiqaartumik saqqum-
 tries between for the relationship important is a

mirsuqarpuq. Akilirngup ikira avissaarutaajunnaarpuq Kalaallit
 manifestation. Davis Strait is no longer a barrier Greenlanders

nagguviqataasalu Canadamiittut Alaskamiittullu akurnanni. Aqqutit
 and their fellows in Canada and in Alaska between. Paths (of com-

pitsaanirulirnatigut ukiuni aggirsuni immi-
 munication) in connection with their bettering in years coming among

tsinnut qanillinirusussaavugut. Eskimuut ataatsimuurnissaannik
 ourselves we should become closer. Eskimos of their unification

iqqarsaat piviunnguraluttualirpuq.
 the idea is gradually being realised.

Pissusissamisuginnarpuq immitsinnut ilisarilirusukkatta.

It is only natural one another that we should want to get to know

Issikkurput taannaavuq. Uqaatsivut ataasiupput kulturikkullu
 Our viewpoint is this Our language is one and culturally

tunuliaqutirput assigiippuq. Allatut uqaatigalugu: inuiaavugut
 our background is the same. In another way putting it: we are a people

ataatsit, tamattalu issittuni najugaqarpugut.

a single, and we all in the Arctic live.

Ajurnartursiutinilli akiugassaqarpugut.

Inuiannnguit

But problems we have that have to be confronted. Small peoples

silarsuarmi ikinnirpaat ilagaatigut. Inuuvugut.

in the world the most sparsely populated we are one of. We live

siamasiqaluta. Aammattaarli naalagaavvinnut assigiinngitsunut pinga-

very spread out. And also to nations different three

sunut atavugut. Sungiusimavarpulli uqitsursiunnarani inuuniq.

we are attached. But we are used to not only in easy times living.

Ukiuni tuusintilinni arlalinni pinngurtitarsuaq naakkittaatsug

For years thousands and more Nature merciless

akiurniarsimavarput inuit napavvigisinnaasaata killirpi-

we have struggled against human beings' endurance at the

aani. Teknikituqarput iluaqutsiullugu annassimavugut,

very limit of. Our old technology making use of it we have survived,

maennalu tekniiki nutaaq ikiurstupparput.

and now technology new we are aided by it.

Suliqatigiinnissamut najuqqutassat iluarsartuutilirpavut. Ajunngiga-

For cooperation the basis we have begun to organize. It is very

aq misigisimagaangatta illirsuqatigiissinnaagatta. Kisian-

good when we feel that we can protect ourselves together. However

nili aamma kulturikkut sunniutiqarluartumik suliqatigiiniartussa-

also as regards culture effectively we should be able to

avugut. Tamatumunnga aqqutissaq tassa ataatsimut allattaasi-
work together. Towards this the path it is one (in common) having a
qarniq.
writing system.

3) POLAR ESKIMO

"Old Woman as Baby of Stone-beings"

(Amaunalik, ed. Holtved, text 52)

Ningiulughuaruuq pihuraalughalirpuq. Tamaaniguuq nalautiliqi-
An old woman, it is told, went out for a walk. Here she came

gaik ujaraghuang inururhamahurhuak. Tiguqigaaguq,
across two big stones turned into human-beings. They took her, it is told

qiturngartaarigaang, iglurhuarmingnun angirlautiqigaang.
they took her as their child, to their big house they took her home.

Annuraajarluguguuq tamaani iglirmunnguq hinigtigatta-
Taking off her clothes here on the sleeping platform they now let

liqigaang aqarlugu huli. Tugtuliajaalidlaraangamiguuq
her sleep caressing her all the time. Whenever they were about to go out

annuraapaluining inurhidlugu audla-
reindeer-hunting her clothes taking them out of her reach they

qattartung taaja muluqattartung hulidluaq. Taaja mulu-
used to leave and then stay away a long time all the time. Thus when

dluting annuraapaluni inuliraangamigin, taaja
they were away her clothes never being able to reach them, so

annuraaqanngidluni tahhaniinguhaaqattapalugtuq tunnurtuumadluar-
without her clothes she would have to remain there though she really
luni.

would have liked to eat some reindeer tallow.

Tikitsiararauguuq tahhaguq aqarhannguatsialiraraang. Kiihaguq
They used to come home and then they used to caress her. Finally

qingapaluata nuupalua ujarannguliqihug. Iluanngidlualiqigaa
 her nose's tip began to turn to stone. She found it all wrong
 ujarannguliqangan. Kiihaguug ima pilirmigaing audla-
 when it began to turn to stone. Finally thus she said to them when
 jaaliqanganing aahiit iluanngidlualiqangamiung:
 they were on the point of leaving once again finding it all wrong:
 "Audlajanngitturhuanga,¹annuraakkali qaikkadlarniaritia!" Tuniqi-
 "I won't go away, but my clothes (you)give me them first!" He gave
 gaaguug kiiha annuraangining. Audlaqanganniguurng audla-
 her at last her clothes. When they had left her, it is told, she
 qihug arpangirluni tarriqanganing. Ingirlaliqihug
 went off running as soon as they were out of sight. She wandered
 Tamaungaguug unipalugharturng irhutsiqaluni. Kiihaguug ahuguug
 along. Here she stopped and hid herself. At last indeed
 irhirpadlaqihut taajaihharluting unatauppalugtur-
 they could be heard coming and as they were doing so beating each other.
 huudlutiguug. Ujaragpalughiguug! Nuliarhuangaguug ima pirpadlatsiara-
 How it rang of stone! His wife thus kept on saying:
 rauq: "Avluraapia nalunaarungniirhuq!" Unatauppalug-
 "Her little footprint is no longer distinguishable!" They could be
 turhuaguug. Ujaragpalughii! Taimailiurpalughinnar-
 heard beating each other hard. How it rang of stone! Thus she just kept on
 turhuaq nuliarhuanga: "Avluraapia nalunaarungniirhuq!"
 saying his wife: "Her little footprint is no longer distinguish-
 Kiihaguug taaja huli taimailiurhuglutik alijarturhinnaqihuk.
 able!" Finally then still behaving this way they withdrew.
¹Presumably on analogy with third person turhuaq, etc.

Taima kiiha audlarpadlaqanganning angirlarluni
 Then finally when they could be heard to have left returning home
 audlaqihuq, qingapalungmi nuupalua ujaranngurhamahuq. Tahhani
 she went off,her nose's tip having turned to stone.There
 ilaminun tikinnguapiliqihuq taanna ningiulughuaq.
 to her relatives she came home this old woman.

4) NORTH BAFFIN

"Inland Hunting"

(Suzanne Niviattiaq, Inummariit, 1974 no.3)

Nunamut imanna pivalaurpugut, imaak taijauvalaurtuq "nunarpartut",
Into the land (thus) we used to go, thus it was called "going inland",

tugtunik annuraagsanik pijarturasuglutik.

caribou for clothing setting out to get.

Tavva upirngaakut tuvairnialirmat tauvunga nunaviup
(Then) in late spring when the ice began ^{to} break up over there the mainland

sinqaanut audlarlutik, tamaani ugjugasuglutik nattirasug-
to its shore setting off, there they hunted bearded seal (and) hunted

lutik angutit. Arnat kamiliurlutik tuppiurpagiirasuglutiglu
ring-seal the men. The women making boots and making tents

qisingnik amma nangmautigsanik qisingnik panirtittinasuglutik. Qimmiit
skins also for pack-sacks skins they dried. The dogs'

nangmautingit iluqarlutik tunuanut qimmiup qaanganut ilidlugu
pack-sacks being filled to its back the dog's onto they put it¹

iludlirsursimadlugu, taanna qimmiq anusimadluni, ipiutanut attungir
having filled it up, that dog being harnessed, to the leads attaching

sur¹lugu qilagsur¹lugu. Taimanna inuit pisusiniarlutik alagsamiglu
it by thongs they tied it. Thus people would start off material for

ugjugavinirmik nagsarlutik, siqquniglu ursumik
kamik soles bearded seal skin bringing, and seal flippers with seal-

iluliqartunik ursuggirlutik, qudlikuluqarlutiglu, taakkua siqqu-
oil filled bringing seal-oil, and with little lamps, those flip-

¹i.e. a pack-sack on each dog

it sauningit pijarsimadlutik angmartailittiarlugit.
 pers their bones having been removed without making holes in the skin.

Audjarmat tappaunga nunainnarmut audlarlutik pisuglutik
 When the summer came up there to the mainland setting out they walked
 angutit nangmaglutik qipingmik qijuqutikulungmik iludlirlugu. Nutaraqar-
 the men carrying a cover a little box¹ containing. As there
 amik taqagaangat taanna nutaraq qaangani igsivaarpag-
 were children if one got tired that child on top of it would sit.

tuni. Taanna nulianga tupiup qananginnik qijuarjungnik adliniq
 She his wife the tent's poles bits of wood the floor-skin
 iluliqarlugu taassuma arnaup nangmagtuniuk, amaarlunilu
 wrapping it round that woman carried it, and she carrying (it)

taqajaraangamik nuqarpaglutik. Taanna
 over her shoulders whenever they would get tired they would stop. That
 angut qinngummigarpagtuni tugtusiurtuni.
 man using binoculars looked for caribou.

Tappaunga tugtuqartumut tikinnamik udlivalirlutik
 Up there where there were caribou when they arrived spending the day
 tangmaaraangamik, tugtuqaqattalirmat qijugtaanginnarnut²
 would strike camp ,when someone got a caribou over a wood fire

uujuuliurpaglutik. Taakkua ursuggiani siq-
 they would cook the meat. Those people the seal-oil they'd brought (in)
 quit unnukkaangat ikumadjutigivaglugit. Kisiani
 the seal flippers when it was night they would use as fuel. But

¹With their belongings in
 of

²Presumably twigs or dry moss

maqulualiraangat qijugtaat qausiliraangata qudlirmut
whenever it began to rain their wood when it would get wet over the oil-

 tiiliurpaglutik uujuliurpaglutiglu.
lamp they would make tea and cook meat.

5) SOUTH BAFFIN (CAPE DORSET)

"How I was Almost Killed"

(Pita Pitsiulaaq, ed. D. Eber)

Asivarvigsatsiangulaurpuq silatsiammariudluni,
 It was a good time to go hunting with floats the weather being fine,
 irnira Aasivak asivaqatigijara nunaqativut pijagsaqa-
 my son Aasivak came float-hunting with me our fellow villagers because
 luaramik ilaugumalaunngimmata. Aulautittin-
 they had caught plenty (already) not wanting to come along. With our
 nik ursugsailaursunuk audlariasijuguk. Aigumammarilirsunuk
 motor(boat) being out of oil we set off. We really wanted to go
 Aasivaglu aivirnut uuttunut. Tikinnannuk qinngutiingnut
 I and Aasivak to the walruses basking. When we arrived in my binoculars
 qiniliraluarama takunngippunga siqinnimmaringmat.
 when I tried to look I didn't see (anything) because the sun was really
 Irnirma takuvangit. Kisiani takujausimalirsunuk takuta-
 shining brightly. My-son saw them. But we had been seen when we
 innarattigu aivirlu atausiq naigami uvattinnik akka-
 at last saw it (and) a walrus one when it smelled us already
 riirsuni. Tikinnasualirtavut tamarmik aqqalaunnginninginni.
 diving down. We tried to reach it they all before they had dived down.
 Ungasigtukadlaudlunuk suli qakiriartunga uniursidlungalu,
 We being a long way away still I got up on the ice and missed,¹
 tamarmiglu aqqirsutik. Malilaursugit pingasunik aivvirsunga
 (and) all of them diving down. After following them, three. I caught
¹i.e. when he fired at them

unaarsatigudlu they didn't sink.
and on the harpoons¹ kivinianngimmata.

Aivagtatta ilangat angijummariulaurpuq, Aasivagluunniit
The walruses we'd caught one of them was really big, even with Aasi-

ikajurtigiikkaluarsunuk kivigunnalaunngippavuk. Aasivagluunniit
vak helping each other we couldn't pull it up. Even Aasivak

irraviijalaursuniuk, kisiani amulilaurpavuk. Taarsijuvi-
when he cut out its innards, but we (at last) pulled it up. It had

niuvuq pilagtidlunuk, qajarivalungnik tusarpalauralar-
grown dark while we flensed (it), the sound of paddling we began to hear

puguk ungasigsivadliavalugtunik. Qadlunaartamik ikitsidlunga udlaja-
gradually growing distant. A (white man's) lamp lighting I began

rarpalirtunga takujaugumagaluumut qajarianut asittinnut
to run because I wanted to be seen by the boats other (than us)

ikajurtiqarumadlunuk niqinut, takujaulaunngitainnarpuguk.
wanting to be helped with the meat, but we weren't seen.

Pilagiitainnarlaurpuguk kisiani taqqirtaqalirtidlugu. Aulautivut
We finally finished flensing but while the moon was out. Our motor

audlariaralarattigu piulaunngilat, pirvadlaaga-
when we tried to get it started had something wrong with it, it just made

latuinnarput. Siqum¹ minniarturidlutigit isumatsautigilirsunuk. Irnira
a bit of noise. That it was broken we began to think. My son

takunnaaluamut aulautinik uvannik takunngip-
because he was paying so much attention to the motor me didn't

¹i.e. attached to the harpoon lines

purluunniit sanguqugaluarakku

apursunuglu

even notice although I asked him to change course and we were bumping

sikunut, nuqqatsiammarigsutiglu aulautit. Aasivak aaqqigsiga-
against the ice, and it stopped completely the motor. Aasivak although he

sualauraluarsuni aulautinik ajulaupuq. Unnuungmat

tried to fix the motor it was no good. When it grew late in the eve-

anurimmarilaurpuq kappiasuinnarpagsungalu anurimik...
ning a real gale blew up and me being always afraid of the wind...

6) LABRADOR

"Christmas Time in Northern Labrador"

(Sam Metcalfe, Inuktitut, Winter 1978)

Imittasimajut katimmavimmut kajusimmata nalunaqattalaun-
 People carrying water to the church when they came up it was a sign
 ngituk aittutaunianningit katimmavimmi. Katimmaviup tutsu-
 of their holding a 'Love Feast'¹ in the church. The church's in its
 ungani tittisiqattalauttut ukkusialunnik tiiliugutitsanik. Ajuqittu-
 porch they would boil water in big pots for making tea in. The minis-
 ijuk angijuqqauqatigiinik qaujititsiqattalauttuk naammassimmat
 ter the church elders would give them a cue when the time came
 aittutuivik. Angijuqqauqatigiit aittuiqattalauttut tiimik qaqquu-
 for the giving out. The elders would give out tea and
 janidlu. Iluunnasiammagitik katimmavimmiijut nigititauqattalauttut
 biscuits. All of them in the church were given food
 kinaluunniit puiguttautinnagu. Qajuuttait ununningit naammangipata
 no one being forgotten. Mugs the number of if there weren't
 iluunnainut angijuqqauqatigiit katitsuiqattalauttut pijagiisima-
 enough for all the elders would collect from those
 junit tutsuunut uvvagiattigiigamik qajuuttanik
 who'd already finished to the porch when they'd gone to wash the mugs
 qimattauqaujut aittutauqattalauttut. Aittutauniup naaninga-
 the ones which were left would be given out. The 'Love Feast' until it
 nut katimmavimmiitut tutsiaqattalauttut. Qajuuttaaluit pi-
 finished the people in the church sang. The mugs' noise

¹Literally 'giving out'

vvalaanningit tusaatsauqattalauttut tutsiatuqagaluattilugu.

could be heard while all the time there was singing

Katimmaviup idluani annanginnait itsivaqattalauttut, angutit akianiit-

The church's one side just woman would sit, the men while on

tilugit, unuttumagiit nutagait qiaqattalauttut katimmavimmi anaa-

the other side, lots of children crying in the church their

nangit nuqqatitsigasuaqattalauttut amaamattisijut uvvalu qanu-

mothers trying to make them stop giving them the breast or any

tuinnak nuqqatitsituagutik qiajunik. Taimaigaluattilugit

how they could get them to stop them crying. While they were doing

nutagait qianginnaqattalauttut naaninganut katimajuqatidlugu.

this the children just went on crying to the end while the service

Sugusiit saanganiittut uimajaagalappata nuqqatitaugasua-

lasted. The youngsters in the front if they misbehaved they would be

qattalauttut angijuqqauqatigiinut. Nuqqagumannqipata immiguutitauqa-

made to stop by the elders. If they wouldn't stop they would be

anititausuungulauttut;
ttalauttut amma nuqqangipata adlaat, anititaulaugannuk
separated still if they didn't stop even they'd be sent out;
A we were sent out

ilannaagalu aattanik jaariqalittilunga. Taitsumani katimmavili-

I and my friend eight when I was (years old). At that time we had gone

asimalauqqugut nuti Ludi tunuttiniittuk niliganiaalittilugu

to church when all at once Ludi behind us was beginning to let

qataittukulummik.

Ilannaagalu ijugumappaania-

off farts (and let) a squeaky little one. My friend and I really wanting

littilunuk adlaat sikkisiqattalauqquguk. Ijuliaqigannuk
 to laugh point of to the, bursting out .Becuase we started laughing

angijuqqauqatigiik uvattinik adjasilauttuk silamut anitsigiattutuk.
 the elders us carrying out came to make (us)

Taimainnganik katimmaviliatsialautsimanngilanga kisiani saalägija-
 leave. After that I didn't go to church much but when pre-

gama angijuqqaakanut nanituinnak.
 vailed upon by my parents wherever.¹

¹i.e. whenever(only then)

7)TARRAMIUT

"Sanaaq"¹

(Salome Mitiarjuk, ed. B. Saladin d'Anglure)

Paninga, Qumaq atinga, saniani itsiavatidlugu, uujurtulirtuq:
Her daughter, Qumaq by name, at her side letting her sit, she began to eat

puugutaqarsuni kiasimmilu tulimaamidlu qumiusiaaminik.
boiled meat:(in) a bowl a shoulder and a rib set aside for her.

Uujurtusuni imailijuq: "Uluga! Qumaq! Qailauruk!" Asuilaa piji-
Eating the meat she said: "My ulu! Qumaq! Bring it to me!" And indeed she

tsisijuq anaanaminik uujurtuqatautsaralua. Anaanangali
did: this for her mother (while) eating meat with her. Then her mother

unikkaatuatsaralua qimmiminik saunnituvinirmik imaak: "Kajualuk
told her the story about her dog that swallowed a bone thus: "Kajualuk

saunnituummat ursutuaamik iiqqati-
because he went and swallowed a bone the last piece of blubber I made

vasungaaliqqauvara, qanuq saunnisimagunnainiarmangaat. Taquatu-
him swallow (the lot), (to see) how he could get rid of the bone. With my

aranik annatutsagaliqqauvuq ,Kajualuk; maralatuinnali-
last provisions he just managed to get over it, Kajualuk; he kept on moan-

qqauvuq akunialummarik saunnisimalirami, tiiliurtilunga".
ing for a long time because he'd choked on the bone, while I made tea

Panigulualu uqalimaqattamijuq apirsusunilu: "Anaanaak, qimmia-
And her little daughter chattered on and asked: "Mummy, (was it

luvut?" Angirtuq anaananga: "Aa!" Nidjaluttaasitsamitsuni:
our big dog?". She agreed her mother: "Yes!" Then she began humming a bit:

¹From the fragment appearing in Inuksiutiit Allaniagait, 1977

"Taka taka taka".Qumaq nidjaluttaaliqquq pinnguasaralua idlimi.

"Taka taka taka".Qumaq began to hum while playing on the sleeping-

Usirtilangalirsutik anaananga uqasigi-
platform.When it was time for them to get undressed her mother spoke

vuq: "Paniik, usirtilirlagit unnutualuummat, kamidlalir-
again:"Daughter,let me undress you because it's getting late,let me take

lagit! Ii!Ilummuulitsamarikkavit! Pisunngilaq! Kami-
your boots off!Ii!They are really leaking!How she walks and walks!She's

ttaarataalaujujuq! Alatsamik kinitsijiudjilangaliqqunga,unnuaq
just got new boots!Material for a sole I will soften up for you, over-

kinitsiniarmat". Puugutarmut kinitsijiudjiliqquq.
night it will soften up".Into a bowl she placed it to soften.

Usirtilangalirsuni uqalimaqattalirtuq Qumaq:"Anaanangai!Amaa-
About to get undressed started chattering away Qumaq:"Mummy! (Give

pa!¹ Paurngaapimmik!"Anaananga uqartuq:"Pisungalaukalirit
me)food!Berries!" Her mother said: "Take some for the last time

naanngulitsaruaravit". Qumaq:"Aa!Anaanaadli,ataataqanngilanga"
or you'll get a tummy-ache".Qumaq:"OK!But Mummy, I don't have a father"

lagululirivuq. Sunatuinnamik isumakadlaqattarami piaraumut,
the little one then said.Anything at all she would think up being a

Anaananga uqasigivuq:"Aa ataataidli-ina tuqujuvinaaluulaujujuq
child.Her mother spoke again:"Yes but your father died a long time ago,
qammiungittualuk,kisiani takugumaartavut silaurngilirpat. Nakka-
long ago, but we shall see him at the 'end of the world'.He

¹Child's word

tuvinaaluulaujujuq maqaitsuni. Inutsiangu-
 fell long ago(into the water) when he was off on a journey.Because he
 qujiqattalaujummat uvattinik inutsiangugasuppaniaqutit."
 often told to behave well us you will try to behave well."
 Qumaq nidliasaliqquq:"Ai!Mikijuguluutidlunga tuqujuvinaaluk.."Taimali
 Qumaq cried out: "Ai!When I was tiny he died..." Then
 sinigasusivuuk, panigiik, uqalimautigiirmatik.
 they tried to sleep,she and her daughter,having finished chatting.
 Tainna sinilirsuni Qumaq itidlimaliqquq, makitsuni pisutsunilu
 She while sleeping Qumaq walked in her sleep,she got up and walked
 qiagalatsaralua:"Anaanaak,amalaunnga, pisudlunuk"
 about crying out: "Mummy, take me on your back,let's walk (togeth-
 latsaralua.Anaanangali tigusijuq Qumarmik innatitsugulu. Taima
 er" saying. But her mother took Qumaq and laid her down.Then
 sinisigiirivuq.
 she fell asleep again.

qaili." "Pinianngittuq," Iglutadnaaq uqarivuq. Ahuilaa Harpi
 let it be brought." "It shan't be" Iglutadnaaq spoke again. And so Harpi
 ulimaunmik tighuvuq ulimagpaalu Harpip Iglutadnaaq. Hiqurtidjun-
 an axe took and hit him with it Harpi Iglutadnaaq. A gun
 mik ijjirhimaajaqarami igami amma hiqurtilirivaa. Ikuma-
 because he had hidden in the cooking area also he shot him. Alight
 gami ukkaalu hupijaubluni hiqurmat. Ahuilaa taalua
 (and) the lamp¹ was blown out when the shot was fired. And then becau-
 lirmat taamna pijumagaluarlu Ithagut ajulirpaa,
 se he began hiding him though he wanted to catch him Ithagut he could
 namulugtaa qimagpangmat hirluanudlu namutuinnag.
 not get him, everywhere because he fled to the store-rooms (and) all over
 Ikumaqanngilirmat taamna tuqutsiarniq ajuliramiuk
 the place. Because there was no light
 Harpip tuqunniq ajulirpaa.
~~not~~ Harpi killing (him) could not.
 Taamna nukanga Igjugaajuk taipkuananngatarnanit kati-
 He his younger brother Igjugaajuk from them from the women gath-
 himajunit ukkaamik aigkirpuq, taamna iglu inuarviujuq
 ered (there) a lamp fetched, that house where there had been a killing
 qaumaqublugu.
 wanting to light.

Nipititaaq apirivuq: "Huuq qami¹ pihi?" Igjugaajuk haglubluni
 Nipititaaq² asked: "Why did your light go out?" Igjugaajuk lying

¹ fire or any source of light

² One of the women in the other house

uqarpuq:"Puluatsinilugtut."

Nipititaaq apiri-

said: "They were trying to light their cigarettes."Nipititaaq asked

kkannirpuq:"Hunali hiqurpalaartuujartuq?"

Igjugaajuk hagluinna-

further: "But what sounded like a gun going off?"Igjujaaguk still ly-

rñuni uqarpuq:"Pirujarli

nirini-lukkavut."

Iglumut

ing said: "Frozen meat(from a cache) we were trying to eat."To the

inuarviujumut

utirpuq.

house where there had been the killing he returned.

9) NETSILIK

"The Eagle (and the Whale)"

(K. Rasmussen, vol. 8, p. 409)

Qupaⁿuarpaup arnaq nuli arililraarunarpaa ibni itiblugu ibnamut
An eagle a woman got as a wife taking her high up on a

Igluqanngitsudluk, hilaluliraangat iharu glungminik
cliff. It had no house, poor thing, whenever it rained its wings

ihavaglugu, Maqaiqattarⁿi angilraⁿangami qulaanit
stretching over her. When it was away hunting and came home from above

tingmilraanalugⁿi quiblugu nuliaqattaraa.
flapping about it would piss on her and copulate with her.

Nurrarnik anguqattarmat pilraalulraalirpuruuq arnaq
Caribou calves when it caught she'd plait the sinews together the woman

ninngutigⁿsaminik, nurraup ivalunngua tapiqquta-
as a thing to let herself down by, a caribou calf's sinews doubling,

riblugu, qupaⁿuarpak angilraugaangat adlinirminut ilivaglugu
the eagle when it came home under her sleeping skin laying

pilraani. Qainnannguⁿuq tikiutingmingmata ningingmigami.
her plaiting. Kayaks, they say, when they arrived she lowered herself down.

Inuutingmat majuaqqigpuq; uigugamiuk
Because it was too short she climbed up again; when she'd made it longer

apuutivuq. Qainnanut umiarⁿtutik qimaatiriarpait. Qupaⁿ
she got down. On the kayaks using (them) as a raft¹ they fled with her. The

nuarpannguⁿuq niptalraalugunarpuq, malingnaubluni qaglilraanalugsinnarpuq.
eagle came into sight, pursuing it drew near.

¹ i.e. joining them so she could lie across them

FOOTNOTES TO ALPHABETICAL LISTS

- 1) But gittiir = W.Gr. killiur. Half-transitive tsi is found even after vowel stems -e.g. qgutsi (ask). Note also tsinnaa and tsima alongside sinnaa and sima.
- 2) kkaaajuk is a nominalizer used verbally in the 3rd person. Note (ra) kk-aaajuk (s.th. with a big/many), and kkaaajuttuagajii/kkaaajunnguagajii as intensifiers (cf. W.Gr. sursuu/sunnguu). Also ri (3rd sing. indic. raaq) as W.Gr. qi. Note the combination rinna (-ami) (I wonder if).
- 3) And (tsun) nikkaaajuk (smell/taste/look like). Note ninngit (not good to).
- 4) And (r) tivanngivagajik (dear little). Note the occasional correspondence of W.Gr. /s/ (e.g. kasik) and E.Gr. /j/ (e.g. gajik above).
- 5) And note, as a nominalizer used adverbially, etc., ruutsuaraartivagajik (enormously). (r) tivaq/ttuag is of course the equivalent of W.Gr. (r) suaq.
- 6) Other affixes from */i(C)u/ with /u(C)u/ after /u(C)/ (otherwise /i(C)i/) include luur on the list (and cf. lur for lir after /u/ on the list).
- 7) Other affixes with /ts/ for expected /tt/ are tsit (W.Gr. ssut) tsisiq (W.Gr. ssusiq).
- 8) Neither lir nor har (cf. W.Gr. sar, 'try to') have much independent meaning in such intensifying combinations. Note also palughaliqi, lughanngualiqi, pag, palunngualidlar, and hughar, etc. Holtved's 'l̥r(q)i' is probably usually liqi.
- 9) And hugtulir. Note giar (begin) too.
- 10) And 'tend to'
- 11) i.e. participial hug plus tugaq, which can have verbal force (as can nominalizer galuaq) in the 3rd person. When reverbilized by u (or rhuu) it can be transitive. In nominal use it can mean 'one who long ago -ed'. Note also hutugainnaq (continually).
- 12) Thus: jaanngit (will not). hha is also found -usually in the sense 'should'.
- 13) Or 'dear little' (under 'subjective coloration')
- 14) pak also, as a nominal modifier (big) and enters into various intensifying combinations such as paghualiqi and dlanag.
- 15) This is probably intensifier qi. It appears as qa before nir, -luni and -ngat and in indicative gaug (sometimes also qahug). Occasionally forms with qa appear to have aspectual meaning like W.Gr. sima (cf. qqa on list below). qi is so commonly used that it has little actual force.

Alirtaa katagauvuq. ~~Ninngakkamiguuq~~ ninngautidlugpaa
Her stocking was dropped. Because it was furious it vented its fury on

qupaⁿuarpaup. Igluaguⁿuq katagaugivuq alirtaa. Ninngautidlug-
it the eagle. The other was also dropped her stocking. It vented its

paa imaq hiqirtittarⁿugu iharuglungminik. Atigaaguⁿuq
fury on it the sea lashing it to foam with its wings. Her inner coat

katagauvuq. Ninngautilraanalugpaa. Malingnauⁿunaluk ~~ninngartuq~~ akuni-
was dropped. It vented its fury on it. The pursuer furious when it

ligtirtaulirami angutigidlugpagpuq. Qarliiguⁿuq katagaugi-
was delayed (in this way) behaved just like a man.¹ Her trousers were also

vut; ninngautilraanalugpai.
dropped; it vented its fury on them.

Iglut tikitaⁿulraanalugput. Tikiutigami igalaaq ihi-

The houses (at last) they were reached. When it got there the window it

varpaa. Ningaungihaguⁿuq² agpiutivait: "Ningaⁿalugidlag-
tore it to pieces. Its brothers-in-law spoke out to it: "(Try and) be a

piarniarputit, qaqalraanalugit ahaakkannirtirtuarlutit
real brother-in-law, show yourself loving (by) spreading your wings more

aarlukkannirtirtuarlutit!" Oupaⁿuarpak qaqalirivuq.
(and) lifting your eyes up more!" The eagle then showed itself loving.

Qaqalirmat unⁿatigut kapilraanalugsinnarpait,
When it began to be loving through the armpits they stabbed it,

al
nivilraanⁿugsinnarpuq. Tursuuk imigtilraanalungnir-
and it tumbled over backwards. The entrance passage it made to collapse

¹ i.e. as if its pride had been hurt

² Rasmussen has ningaavisa -for ningaungita?-as. in Greenlandic.

paik tuqugami. Qupannuarpannguq avittu~~g~~gaugami uummataa
 when it died. The eagle, it is said, when it was cut up its heart

qingminut tuniurautauvuq, qatigainunnguq iluanunngar~~t~~utik qingmit
 to the dogs was shared out, into its back bone¹ crawling in the dogs

nirivagput.

ate.

¹It was so big

10) COPPER

"The Giant"

(M.Métayer, text 90)

Ingilraannguq inuit Nuahurnirmi kuukkijut.

Long ago, they say, the people at Nuahurniq were fishing in the river.

Kuukkitidlugit upinraami inugpaguuq nuijuq. Qaglilir-

While they were at the river in the spring a giant appeared. When he

amiguuq hiqiniq ualitidlugu inuinnguq talvani tatamaalaqigamik

came near the sun being in the west the people then (because) they

 quilirtaulirpiartut. Hiqiniq upinraami qulvahigpagtuq,

were scared began to be really afraid. The sun in spring is high up (in

 qilangmiujutun itpagtuq. Qagliliramiguuq qagligidja-

the sky), as if living in the sky it is. When he came near although he

righigaluarani talittaaliraa hiqiniq. Talittaalirmagu

wasn't really that close he began to obscure the sun. When he obscured

 talvani qanurviirutigamik inuit ingmingnun qanur-

it then as they couldn't do anything the people for themselves as

viiramik irinalirtut irinaliunmingnik tuqutau-

they couldn't do anything they began to sing (their) magic songs their

jaghartik ihumagiliramikku, huvighairamik,

going to be killed because they were worried about, because there was

 irinarpaliramik talvungaguuq tupqit

nothing more they could do, when they began to sing over that way the

 qulinnuangatigut airaalirtuq. Ukua inuit tupqit

tents just above them he started off slowly. These people their tents

tikitani apurungnairamigit, kuugaq ajanirtujunnuaq
 he'd arrived at as he could not reach them, the river being rather wide
 taamna nalughaarnartuq, tupqit qulaat ablu-
 it took a long time to get across, of the tents ~~these~~ upstream stri-
 raarhuguguuq ikaara^aaa. Ikaaqqaarhugu akinnuangagut talvuna^u
 ding across he crossed it. Having crossed it just opposite over there
 irinarhim~~ma~~artumi akinnuangagut anmuulirtuq.
 while the singing went on just opposite he started down (to lower ground).
 Ablunighinnuarhuni pihuraalirami anmun qutiqqiblugu
 With small steps as he was walking slowly down following the banks of
 kuugaq, ujarahugjugaaluk angarjuangunnirtuq ulamirtarjuaraaluk nuna-
 the river, an enormous rock really big a big round thing into
 mun manguhimajukaphaaluk nanurlukagvigigamiuguuq. Talvani ijara-
 the ground firmly set he stretched out upon it¹. Then beca-
 ingmanni irinartut nanurlukagvi-
 use they had tired him those who were singing magic songs when he lay
 gigamiuk taikunga akimun uvirtikaqqa,
 heavily against it over there on its other side he made it tip over,
 kaivadlurtikaqqaaguq. Talvani tariumun audlartuq imainnarmun. Tariu-
 he made it roll over. Then to the sea he set off to the water. Into
 mun audlarami nalulirtuq. Nalugaarpalirami
 the sea when he set off he began to wade. While he waded slowly along
 itimangmingniguuq nattit qalugaalugit uqummirpakkait.
 with the palms of his hands seals scooping them up he would put them

¹ On elbows and knees, like a resting bear

Talvani nalugaarpakkami Ukadlingmun tikilirtuq. Ahungaanga-
 in his mouth. Then wading to Ukadlik he arrived. To Ahungaa-
 lingmun tikilirami nunalittuq. Nunalinnami ujaranngurtuq
 lik¹ when he came he went on land. When he went on land he turned to

hiitqumigarami hiqiniq haattugu.
 stone while kneeling the sun facing.

¹i.e. 'the place of Ahungaaq (the name of the giant)'

11) MACKENZIE

"The Constellation Sivudliit"

(K.Rasmussen, vol 10, p.78)

Inuguuq ibnaq angajuqatakabsak¹ qulingmigut igalilik
 A man, it is told, a grown man an old one above him had his
 tagpiku^u_{na}. Nukagpiraaluup tikikkaa mikijup; when he
 cooking place up there. A young man came to him a small one; tikiinna-
 miuk igluagun majuakkirtuq. Majurami
 came to him by his house (wall) he began to climb up. When he had climbed
 suvaluijauttar^u_{uni} igaliq tikitarsigaa, Tikinnamiuk
 up without making a sound the cooking place he approached. When he came
 itsuaraa. Inuguuq-nutim sikingajuq
 to it he looked down into it. The man, it is said, sitting with bent head
 takugaa. Takugamiuk angun uqaudlagtuq pavunga qiviaratarani:
 he saw. When he saw the man he (the man) said upwards without looking:
 "Suum uvanga taarpaanga?" Saviatsiaq tiguva. Tigugami-
 "What (is it) me casting a shadow on?" A small knife he took. When he
 uk qinngi ungavaraa pilag^u_{ugu}. Tagvaguuq qinga-
 had taken it his nose he removed cutting it off. It was (because) by his
 minut taarugaluni² pilakkaa. Ungavaraa, qaum-
 nose thinking himself to be shadowed he cut it off. He removed it, (but)
 manngitsuq. Qaummanngingmat suli savingmik
 it didn't become light. Since it didn't become light again the knife
 tigujigami sirpini pilag^u_{ugu} ungavaraa. Nau-ilaa
 taking his eyelids cutting them off he removed them. Well, why not,

¹ Perhaps for angajuqagsaq (but kabsak can mean 'rather')

² Perhaps for taarasugaluni

qaummanngingmat qabluni ungavarmigai.
 when it (still) didn't become light his eyebrows he also removed them.

Ungavarmagit qitusutsagtuq nukagpiraq. Tugsir-
 When he'd removed them he creased up with laughter the young man. He beg-
 tuq angun: "Qarligaaluuka, qarligaaluuka!" Arnaunga nukagpidjap
 ged the man: "My (poor) trousers, my trousers!" His woman 'the young

takumannginniraa, kiugaa: "Ukua tug^utrasualuup?"
 man hadn't noticed, ^{she} answered him: "(Are they) those of poor caribou-skin?"

"Qarligaaluuka, qarligaaluuka!" "Ukua naujaak?" "Qar-
 "My trousers, my trousers!" "Are they those of young gull skins?" "My
 ligaaluuka, qarligaaluuka!" "Isunngaaluuk?" "Aa-ma-ma-ma,
 trousers, my trousers!" "(Are they those of) arctic gull?" "Ye-e-e-es!

atigik!"

Put them on! ¹

Nukagpiraaluk paamungnirtuq. Paami angun uta-
 The young man went to the entrance passage. In the entrance the man he

qqiniraa. Anigami iglu kaujaugarsigaak. Kau-
 waited for him. When he came out the house they began to run around. They

jaartuk, malirsuujua²k, qangattartuk. Arnaq suvaluiruti-
 ran around, chased each other, rose from the ground. The woman when there

ngman~~g~~nik anivuq, qummut qiviartuq. Nutim-nguuq malir-
 was no more sound of them went out, up she looked. Why! the

suujua^k takugik tagpa~~g~~ga qul^{high}varnirtuak unigtuk,
 two chasing each other she saw them up there risen in [^] the sky stopped,

¹i.e. (for) him

²For malirsuuti^jjuak (and malirsuuti^jjuak below)?

tagpaggaguuq sivudliinngurtuk.

up there, it is told, they had turned into the constellation Sivudliit.

Tagva mikinirsaq sivudliujuq; taaraangat sivuliriigpagtut,
it's the smaller one is in front; when it is dark one is in front of

ublurnialiraangat kubsarpagtut¹.

the other, (and) when day comes one of them is lower than the other.

¹Probably for kudjarpagtut (cf. W. Gr. kugssar - 'bend head down low')

12) NORTH SLOPE

"The Whale"

(Harold Kaveolook, B.S.I.P. 1975)

Arvirsiurniq isug¹it²uu³ž⁴uq June-ngurman aasii umiaqtuqtit
 Whale hunting reaches as far as to June (and) the whaling crews
 isid¹liiv²lugu umiaqtik unianiittuaq surauttanik, angunniarunna-
 loading up their umiaq on their sled with their things, their equipment
 tik suli umiamun ikuvlugič. Tav³žaasii takudjir⁴utik arvanga⁵žuat
 and in the umiaq placing. And then putting up a flag those who've

umiat nivingngar²lugu takujaq taki³žuamun qiz⁴ungmun
 caught a whale the crew hang up a flag on a long wooden pole
 nappar²lugu umiamun. Aasii tulautivlugu umiaqtik nunamun.
 raising on the umiaq. And they take it (on land) their umiaq to the

Tav³žagguuq qag⁴š⁵uqtut.
 land. Then, as they say, 'qag⁴š⁵uqtut' (they return to the village).

Tav³ža qag⁴š⁵uqqaar⁶utik sivikit⁷čuaq pianingman taapkua
 Then after returning to the village shortly after those

arvaktuat umiat itqanaijaarsi³ž⁴aqtut nalukatarnig⁵š⁶amun.
 that caught a whale the crew start to get ready for the 'nalukatarnig⁷'

Umialingat umiaqtuqtit i²nungni³lu itqanaijaruu⁴žut nalukatarnig⁵š⁶amudlu
 The captain of the crew and his men get ready for the nalukatarnig

niqinaqinig³š⁴angannudlu. Nalukatarniq si⁵łami aturuugaat
 and the feast. The nalukatarniq in the open air they have it

tapqami. Uki³łhaar⁴žuanik ajagut⁵č⁶iur⁷ługič uquuttaliuruu⁸žut umianig-
 on the beach. Cloth putting on poles they make shelters (and) the

¹The whaling celebration with blanket-tossing

lu akiviglugič tapqamun. Niqit maktaidlu isagagšau-
 umiaqs propping on their sides on the beach. Meat and mattak have to be
 suužut sirluamiñ avguagšat mikižuužauttarlugič. Mikižuat
 taken out from the ice-cellar to be cut up into small pieces. The small
 aasii niqit maktaidlu avguat igšurlugič kigiunnirnun naagga qattar-
 both of meat and mattak pieces they place in containers or boxes
 žungnun autaagagšurugič iluqangiññun iñungnun qaižuanun nalukataqtu-
 to be shared out to all the people coming to the nalu-
 anun.

katarniq.

Tavžasuli umiam iñungič mapkuliuruummiut nalukatautigšamingnik
 And then the umiaq's crew make the blanket used for tossing
 umiam amingiññik. Uvlua nalukatarnigšam niqinaqinigšavlu
 the umiaq's from its skins. The day of the nalukatarniq and the feast
 isagutisuužug uvluq qitiqqajasimman uvlaami aasii
 usually starts the day when it is towards noon in the morning and
 ariuvlutik unnuaržuāngmagu. Aasii niringaiqamik nalukatangaiqamiglu
 finishes late in the evening. And after eating and tossing in the
 arriarsivlutik. Qilaužžaqtit atuqtidlu tunuanun
 in the blanket they start dancing. The drummers and singers in back of
 mapkum, tunngažuam marrarmun atungairman natili-
 the blanket, lying on the ground when it was no longer used using
 utivlugu, inidlaguužut aquvitkutik. Umiaqtuqtit
 it as a ground-sheet¹, take up their places sitting. The crew
¹i.e. for a dance-floor

umialiktiglu angajug^{žu}sausuužut, arvaktuałhaakkii,¹ atautči-
 and their captain must (each) dance, for they have caught a whale, at least
 miunnii angajugumi tavža apai. Iluqatik inuič
 once if one have dances then that's enough. Everyone the people
 aliasungitčuužut!
 have lots of fun!

¹The haa is probably an enclitic expletive

13) KOBUK

"Raven's Attempt at Fishing"

(from ^{W.}Zibell's 'Unipchaat 2')

Tulugarruuq una kuukun taatna ukairmi, ukaikšara-
Raven, it is told, (it was) along a river (he) in the autumn, as it was
taqtaumi sikužaraliqsaumi, mažža tingmiižaar-
at last becoming autumn as the ice was forming, here (he was) flying along.

niqsuq. Uvvaasii tingmiižaarhuni tamaani takauqsiniqsuq kanna

And then as he was flying along there he noticed down there

qalungmik ittauružaaqtaumik. Ikkattuužami itkanniqsuq kanna;
a fish staying in one place. In a deep place it stayed down there;

takukkanga qaluk tažžaasii qaluksarumaatčaaqsiniqsuq. Taimma
(that) he'd seen the fish and so he prepared to catch it. Then

angušarumaatčangniqsuq ingmiñi.

he figured he could catch (it) for himself.

Tažža qulanga iqataužaaqługu, kaivžaaqtauružaaqtiralauqami, taimma pijuu-
Then hovering above it, circling above it slowly, (then) wanting

migiplugu, takanna qaluksaaqsiniqsuq. Tažža takanunga
to get it, down there he began to dive after the fish. Then downwards

qaluksaqtirniqsuq. Taatna kajummarmiñiñ tulugaq sutilaarmi-
quickly he dived after it. He in his excitement Raven what happen-

ñik nalužuq. Taatna tulugaq sutilaarmiñik nalupluni,
ed to him didn't know. He Raven what had happened to him not know-

qanutun taimma nalugalauqami, qauržaiqsilratarniqsuq.
ing, how long then (it was) not knowing, at last he regained conscious-

Tažža qaurži'ami uilratarniqsuq. Tupqužamguurnuti
ness. Then when he came to he opened his eyes. To his surprise a little

ilauni innirhuni. Taatna innitunriññiqsaumi tupqužam
house inside being, it seemed. It having very little room the little

ilauni qaurži'ami qiniqtauružaaqsarhuni; taamna
house's inside when he came to he kept trying to look around; that

tupqužaq mikidlapaiqtuq.
little house was really very small.

Uvvašii kangiqsaiqsiniqsuq qatigaangmi ilauknun naiqquni isiq-
And then he began to perceive that his back into it his head had

titirniraa. Sikumun tutpagitluni, taatna naiqquni
been pushed ~~(into it)~~. Into the ice ramming it so hard, it his head

una tuuqamiing siku qaluksaarmi sikužžarmi
(it was) when it hit the ice when he dived after the fish in the ice

tuuqamiing, qatigaangmiñun isiqtitirniraa. Tažža qanurviitčuq,
when it hit it, into his back it had forced it into. Then there was

taatna taatnaaningniqsuq.
nothing could be done, that was that.

14) SEWARD PENINSULA (KING ISLAND)

"The Little Girl Who Was Stolen"

(Frank Ellana)

Niaqsaaržuužaruuq una aniiqtuaq. Akkam tiugaa.

A little girl, it is told, there was out playing. A brown bear stole her.

Tavža uuma taamna ižiqiu, akkunaamik quaqsimik pituku.

Then it her hiding her away, with a thong (of) raw hide tying her (to

panigiaa. Iwaraluaqu satuutiaat.

a pole), kept her as its daughter. Although they looked for her they had to

Tavžaguuq uvarnamagu angajuugik iliga-

give up. Then, it is told, when it was summer her two elder brothers two

aržuužaak maliraniužaatuk tingmiahužiužanik satkuužaliq-

young boys went out hunting with things for catching birds with their

tutik. Tavža uuma niaqsaaržuum natkiigaik uguak

little hunting tools. Then she the little girl noticed them those two

angajuungni aniqatiingni maliraniaqtuak. Akpižušaigik angaju-

her two brothers out-together hunting. She sang out to them her two

ungni: "Juuwuutkuwuu, juuwuutkuwuu, aippaaga panalik, aippaaga

brothers: "Juuwuutkuwuu, juuwuutkuwuu¹, one (of them) with a spear, the other

pitiksijaangužalik, panaliik!"

with a little bow, you with the spear!"

Akkam aviriaa: "Tutiing, tutiing, tutiing, sunatani pilguaqpi-

The bear asked her: "Grandchild, grandchild, grandchild, what now are you up

¹Probably 'you down there'. Like ⁱⁿ many old songs in Inuit legends some of the words here are ~~in~~ unusual ⁱⁿ form.

ung?"Niaqsaaržuum kiugaa: "Utku^uanga quvā^unuanga¹ ujuqtuk,
to?" The little girl answered:"Those two down there Arctic geese have re-

ujuqtuk!" Taununga akpižutiāik: "Juuwuutkuu, juu-
turned, have returned!" Then (again) she sang out to them: "Juuwuutkuu, juu-
wuutkuu, aippaaga panalik, aippa ga pitiksija angaužalik, panalik!"
wuutkuu, one with a spear, the other with a little bow, you with the

"Tutiing, tutiing, tutiing, sunatani pilguaqpiung?" "Utku-
spear!" "Grandchild, grandchild, grandchild, what now are you up to?" "Those
anga quvā^unuanga ujuqtuk, ujuqtuk!"
two down there Arctic geese have returned, have returned!"

Kiitaⁱmma natkiigaak najaktik. Kiliksiplutik'aa
Finally they saw her their younger sister. And so they went to warn (them)

sata^munga inⁱnun. Angutižuuq uvi^tkuu akⁱlaq teamna
down there to the village. The men, it is told, running to it the bear that
turutpagaat.
they killed it.

¹(Archaic/poetic?) for utkuak quvā^unuak(dual)

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APPENDIX A: AFFIX ORDERING

The principles of ordering successive affixes in a single word are the same for all Inuit ~~(and Yupik)~~ dialects. All words are made up of a stem plus any number of affixes followed by a grammatical (inflectional) ending and, optionally, one or more enclitics beyond that. In the case of a verb, the stem is either verbal in itself or a nominal stem plus a verbalizing affix (groups one to eight in the manual). In the case of a noun, it is either nominal in itself or built up from a verbal stem plus nominalizing affix (group 24). The change from nominal to verbal and vice versa can take place several times within one word. Inside a verbal word a 'sentential' affix (groups 19, 20, 22 and 23) follows any others. Among the latter, verb-extending affixes (groups 9 to 14) generally precede negation (21) and any verb-modifying affix (groups 15 to 18), though a new verb-extending affix can then follow, repeating the building-up process. Some affixes of this category such as suri (think that) can even follow sentential affixes. Amongst the latter, tense (19) precedes modality (20), which can in turn be negated and/or followed by an affix of subjective coloration (group 22). A conjunctive affix (group 23) ~~may~~ comes right before the grammatical ending. A nominal stem can likewise be expanded by a noun-extending affix (group 25) followed by a noun-modifying affix (26). More than one affix from groups 15 to 18, 22 and 26 can follow in succession, in which case the order is determined solely by the meaning to be expressed. The statements above will be seen to apply to long words such as the following from West Greenlandic, broken up into morphemes and labelled according to affix group below:

aliikusirsuillammassuaanirartassagaluarpaalli

<u>aliikut</u>	<u>lirsur</u>	<u>i</u>	<u>llammak</u>	<u>ssuag</u>	<u>u</u>	<u>nirar</u>	<u>tar</u>	<u>ssa</u>	<u>galuar</u>	<u>paat</u>	<u>li</u>
8	14	24	26	1	9	18	19	22			Encl.
(entertainment)	($\frac{1}{2}$ -trans.)	(great)	(say)	(repet.)	(sure-but)	(however)					
(provide)	(good at)	(be)	(will)	(they-him)							

An approximate English gloss would be: 'However, they will say that he is a great entertainer, but... (e.g. we know otherwise)'.

The affix groups used in this manual thus relate to properties of ordering as well as to shared meaning. It is ^{as} a consequence of this that a number

of affixes appear to belong to more than one group on the lists -e.g. West Greenlandic sima appears under groups 17, 19 and 20. This is because as an affix of aspect (under 17) it not only has a slightly different meaning from its entry^{ies} under 19 (which^{ality} concerns tense relationship to the time of speaking) and 20 (mod-), but also acts differently as regards ordering relative to other affixes. Under 19 it cannot be followed by another affix of aspect (as it could under 17) but can be followed by one of modality, which it cannot if it is used itself as an affix of modality. For further details and examples see Fortescue, 1980.

Apparent differences from West Greenlandic as regards ordering in other dialects can be resolved if one takes into account 'lexicalization' and 'semi-lexicalization' of combinations of more than one affix that may be different from those preferred in West Greenlandic: as far as possible these have been entered on the relevant lists. Thus in N. Slope Inupiaq for combinations of negation plus an affix of modality the prevailing order is with the negative affix first, whereas further east the preference is, as described, for negation to follow modality. But even in West Greenlandic certain affixes of modality prefer the Inupiaq order (e.g. nnginnguatsiar as opposed to gunanngit); all such 'semi-lexicalizations' have duly been indicated on the lists, in so far as they go against the ordering principles described above. In Tarramiut all tense affixes can be strengthened by a preceding tsa(r), on its own an affix of subjective coloration that should follow tense, and gunnair, an independent affix of aspect like W. Greenlandic junnaar, is found following tense affixes in such combinations as laursimaniarunnair (will never again), where it is probably identical to its entry under group 20 as a modal intensifier ('certainly not'). The attempt has again been made to include mention of all such (common) special combinations. Likewise with the various combinations of affixes used in most dialects to express narrative/expressive coloration (under group 22): often affixes belonging independently elsewhere are involved -e.g. lir (begin) and har (try to), which in Polar Eskimo commonly appear in such combi-

nations as palughali~~vi~~, which has little if any of the meaning of these two affixes. In every dialect there are a few special, fully lexicalized combinations that seem to be illogical when examined from the point of view of ordering and must be entered as units -thus In North Baffin the combination jaujuma is reported (as in tuqutaujumajug, 'the one people wanted to kill'), which does not mean 'want to be -ed'. In West Greenlandic such a combination is seen in qgunngit, which (as in most dialects) means 'tell/want not to' rather than the expected 'not tell/want to'.

APPENDIX B: CENTRAL ALASKAN YUPIK AFFIXES

The following material -which does not include morphophonemic information -is for Central Alaskan Yupik as spoken around the Kuskokwim river, and is based on the new dictionary (Jacobson, S., forthcoming) from the Alaska Native Language Center. It is not valid for Siberian Yupik (Chaplino-Saint Lawrence Island, Naukan, and now ^{virtually} extinct Siren'ik), nor for Pacific Coast Eskimo (Alutiiq), both of which are different enough from each other and from Central Alaskan Yupik to be considered separate languages. Besides the Kuskokwim-Yukon dialect represented here, Central Alaskan Yupik also includes the dialects of Bristol Bay, Nunivak Island, Hooper Bay-Chevak, and Norton Sound. In general Yupik morphophonemics and prosody (which affects the latter) is more complicated than in the Inuit language, and no attempt is made here to go into the details. But to compare the list with those for the Inuit dialects note that the 'fourth vowel' ^([ɔ]) /e/ ^{final} often disappears in context -thus the syllable te on many affixes fuses with the indicative ending -uq to form -tuq, etc. The syllable ar in brackets also usually disappears (leaving vowel length). A /g/ or /r/ in Inuit dialects will often correspond to a /k/ or /q/ in Yupik affixes. An initial /j/ can alternate with /s/, and /c/ (close to ^{the} East Greenlandic sound) can correspond to either /t/ or /s/ in Inupiaq. Inupiaq /tq/ corresponds to Yupik /sq/, and Yupik nasal plus stop corresponds to an Inupiaq stop plus stop in clusters. /r/ and /g/ are voiceless when next to a voiceless consonant and can ^{also} appear unvoiced intervocalically - in which case they are underlined. Yupik ~~also~~ has voiceless nasals (underlined on the list) and labialized velars -the voiceless one appears once on the list as 'hw'. A voiceless continuant in Yupik may sometimes correspond to its voiced counterpart in Inupiaq, and, finally, original geminates (still found in Inupiaq) have been reduced to single consonants in Yupik.

It should be pointed out that the divisions into semantic groupings has been made to facilitate comparison between Central Yupik and Inuit affixes and they therefore do not necessarily fit the ordering rules discussed above for the latter. Thus many Yupik affixes under 'Subjective Coloration' can apparently be followed by certain affixes of aspect, etc., while certain of the latter cannot in turn be followed by other affixes (A. Woodbury's 1981 dissertation discusses this ^{greater} in detail).

1) BEING & BECOMING

me^htaur(ar)⁻ (be in/on-some time)me^hte⁻ (be in/on)(qsig⁻) (be far-in direction)(ng)u⁻ (be)(ng)urte⁻ (become)

2) LACKING

(ng)icag⁻ (lack/need)(ng)ir⁻ (have lost/removed)(ng)irute⁻/(ng)iute⁻ (no longer
have)(ng)ite⁻ (be without/lack)~~knagait⁻ (completely lack)~~tairute⁻ (there is no more-)taite⁻ (there is no-)

3) FEELING

(ng)ir(ar)⁻ (feel cold in one's-)(ng)ir(ar)te⁻ (injure one's -)(r)jug⁻ (want)(r)juumir⁻ (yearn for)(liqe)(1) (feel pain/be afflicted
ed by)lngu⁻(1) (have a painful-)

4) HAVING

ke⁺(1)(have as)kegci/kegte⁻ (have(a)good)(kite⁻) (have little/a small)(ki^hi⁻) (have less)lgir⁻ (have with one/take along)lir⁻ (have plenty/lots of)liqe⁻ (have (a) bad)ngqer⁻ (have)r^hugte⁻ (have a bad/be inconvenien-
ced by)rpi/rpau⁻ (have a big)tange⁻ (there is/are now)tangqer⁻ (there are/it has)(tu⁻) (1) (have a big/much)

5) ACQUIRING

ci⁻ (buy)ksagute⁺ (get as one's -)linqigte⁻ (get another/change one's-)

(liqe)(2) (catch a lot of)

nge⁻ (get/acquire)saag⁻ (fetch)sur⁻ (search for/hunt)tar⁻ (1) (go for/gather)(te⁻) (1) (catch)

6) MOVEMENT

kuar/kuir⁻ (go by way of)liar^h/lijar⁻ (go to)te⁻ (2) (go to)(tmurte⁻) (go to -deictics)((q)vaqanir⁻) (go further towards-
deictics)(var⁻) (move towards -deictics)

7) ACTING & SEEMING LIKE

(r)ngate⁻ (seem like a)(cug)ninarqe⁻ (taste/smell of)rpagninarqe⁻ (smell strongly of)

8) DOING WITH & PROVIDING

((ng)ar(ar)te⁺) (hit on the-)(car(ar)te⁺) (hit on the -)(ng)ir⁺ (remove its -)ir/lir⁺ (provide with)kite⁺ (give to s.o.)kiur⁻ (prepare)k*̣*iute⁺ (take possession of)li⁻ (make)liur⁻ (be occupied with/play
with/make)(mig⁺) (put s.th. in/on one's-)

(a)r (1) (verbalizer of loan-words)

tur⁻ (use/eat/wear)(r)tuuma⁻ (do together with s.th)(viar⁺) (do to s.o. in a place-deic-
tics)

9) JUDGING & SAYING

(u)ciite (not know where/whether one-)

cili⁻ (appear to have (been)-ed)juke⁺ (think that)ke⁺ (2) (consider)najuke⁺ (suppose that)ngari⁻ (seem to be getting-)ni⁺ (say that)

(a)r (2) (say)

tasiir/tasiar/taciar⁺ (measure/
compare)

10) WISHING & WAITING

ciar(ar)⁺ (wait patiently for
s.th.to-)(ner)cir⁺ (wait for s.th. to-)

jug (1) (want to)

jugar⁻ (enjoy -ing)

jugjaaqe (would like to)

junqeg (love to)

juumiir(ar)te (no longer want to)

juumiite (not care to)

juumir (desire to)

lngu (2) (be tired of)

11) CAUSATION & REQUEST

car⁺ (try to cause to)cetaar⁺ (try to get to)rqe⁺ (intentionally cause to)sqe⁺ (ask/want s.o. to)sqenrite⁺ (ask not to)squma⁺ (ask/want to)(te)staili⁺ (prevent from)vkar/cete⁺ (cause/let)

12) STRIVING & INTENDING

caar(ar) (try to)

jar(tur) (go in order to)

kunajaaqe (think about/consider-
ing)

ngnaqe (try)

ngnaqsaar (try unsuccessfully to)

ngnatug (try hard to)
nricenar (have decided not to)
nrikurte⁻ (keep oneself from
-ing)
qcaar(ar) (try one's best to)
saag (1) (try to)
taar⁻ (try to make oneself
appear-)
(ng)uar (pretend to)

13) POTENTIALITY

(g)arkau(l)(must/is to be -ed)
 (g)arkaunrite (needn't (be -ed))
 (s)ciigali (no longer be able to)
 (s)ciigate (cannot/not easily)
 jaurte (can now)
 ju⁻ (be good at/tend to/habitually)
 jug (2) (tend to)
 jugnga (can)
 junaite⁻ (cannot be -ed/not such as to-)
 junari⁻ (be the right time to)
 junarqe⁻ (be such as to/one can)
 juuma (be ready to)
 lgu (can)
 lguir(ute) (can no longer)
 lguite (cannot)
 naite⁻ (not be such as to)
 naqsaage⁻ (one can)
 nari⁻ (be time to)
 narqe⁻ (be such as to be -ed/should/-able)
 ngig⁻ (be good at/can easily)
 (niite⁻) (be unpleasant to)
 (nirqe⁻) (be pleasant to)
 nritarkau (mustn't (be -ed))

gainaurte (be ready to)
tar⁻(2) (tend to/habitually)
turnir⁻ (be good/fast at)

14) RELATION SHIFTERS

(g)au/tau⁻ (passivizer)
(s)ciur/(s)cir⁻ (passivizer-to sub's
detriment)
(g)i⁻ (intransitivizer/adversative)
kenge⁻ (intransitivizer- completed
action)
nguteke⁺ (do together with)
(u)te⁺ (with/for/reciprically)
(u)teke⁺ (transitivizer-means/reason/
about)
vike⁺ (transitivizer -place/person/
time)

15) DEGREE

(g)ar(ar) (barely/just)
 cuar (a little)
 (ng)iinar (more & more)
 jarpiar (almost)
 kaca(g)ar/kacgar (very)
 kaniir (a little more)
 kanirar (more and more)
 ksuar(ar) (a little/quietly)
 mcugte/mjugte (a little)
 mjag (not enough)
 nerkite (only a little)
 nertu (a lot)
 nritar(ar) (almost)
 nru/~~ru~~ (more)
 (r)pag (much/hard)
 (qa)piar(ar)/(qa)pig(te) (very/real^{ly})
 rkuar(ar) (a little)
 sijaag/saag (2) (too/so much)
 ta (so)

(g)ur(ar) (1) (a little)

vakar (so much/so long)

vařag (intensely/too much)

vahur (most/mostly)

vguar(ar) (a little)

vlaag (insufficiently)

vziar (further/more)

16) MANNER

ar (at leisure)

(g)ar(ar)te (suddenly)

(g)arte (briefly/merely)

curlag (badly/with interference)

jaaqe (1) (in vain/nevertheless)

jarar (early)

jarar(ar) (very early)

jugcali (heartily/with enjoyment)

kajag (anyway/despite one's wishes)

kigainar (just/merely)

~~kajag (anyway/despite one's wishes)~~

laag (quickly)

ler/(ter) (suddenly/willfully)

lerjag (abruptly/in a huff)

luaqar (well/it's good that -)

luatar (well)

řag (suddenly & surprisingly)

řugtur (quickly)

(u)maar(ar) (slowly)

mciur(ar), (a little at a time)

mli (casually)

naciar (late/take a long time -ing)

nerřugte (with difficulty/have trouble
from -ing)

nginar (just/for no particular reason)

ngsaar (in secret/unnoticed)

ngsag/ngsi (to no particular purpose/potter-
ing about)

nřegcaar(ar) (thoroughly/completely)

qaci (for no real purpose/at leisure)

qer/qar (1) (briefly/merely)

qerte (suddenly/fast)

qtarar(ar) (slowly & with difficulty)

tngurte (unexpectedly/after changing mind)

vialug (clumsily)

vlugte (sloppily)

17) PHASE OF COMPLETION

jařir (finally)

juirute (no longer)

jukaar(ar) (just about to/at any moment)

ksaite (not yet)

kug (going to/about to)

(li/ri/liri-) (become) a long time already

(u)ma/cima (perfective state/for)

(u)mari/cimari (already)

(nga/ngga-) (state)

nge (begin)

(na)nrir (stop/no longer)

pigainar (finally-after hesitation)

~~qatar (going to/about to)~~

qataar(ar) (start slowly to)

qatar (going to/about to)

~~(u)mari/cimari (already)~~

(g)urainar (at last -after inability)

18) FREQUENCY & DURATION

a(r) (repeatedly)

(g)aqe (usually/would(narrative))

juite (never)

ksaitelar (have never -ed)

lar (repetition)

~~ksaitelar (have never -ed)~~

~~(u)ma/eima (2) (for a long time already)~~

naur (1) (usually/would)

ngigte (again)

ngingairute (will never again)

qaqu/qaqur(ar) (now and then)

qetaar (repeatedly)

~~qae (2) (one after another/keep on -ing)~~

qu (one after another)

rear (first)

rainar (constantly)

qae (2) (one after another/keep on)

tu (2) (repetition/regularly)

tuinar(lar/tu) (always/habitually)

(ur) (piecemeal/bit by bit)

(g)ur(ar) (2) (keep on/continuously)

(g)urlar (always)

vaalug/vailug (for first time -in long time)

li (perhaps)

lini (apparently/now I know that-)

lkiite (not be apparent that-)

ngate (2) (seem to / perhaps)

21) NEGATION

jaquna(-k/ku, etc.) (negative imperative)

jugnaite (definitely not)

~~ngaita (will not)~~

nrite (not)

22) SUBJECTIVE COLORATION

jaaqe (2) (but...)

ja(g)ar (dear little)

ki (non-immediate imperat. modifier)

mkug (no good/damned)

mi (also)

naur (2) (let's -1st person imper.)

pacug (poor dear)

qer/qar (2) (polite - imper.)

urlur (poor dear)

vag (how -!/so much)

viiqna (don't so much/stop - imper.)

19) TENSE

(g)arkau (2) (will)

ci(i)qe (future)

gaurciiqe (will start -ing)

ku (past)

nerar(ar) (have just-ed)

ngaite (will not)

(niar) (near future)

niarar (will soon)

20) MODALITY

jar (would -counterfactual)

jungnarqe(probably)

23) CONJUNCTIONAL

(g)aq(e)-an (whenever)

(ng)inanr(-ani) (while)

juar(-tuq) (lest he -)

ki(-kan) (if -hypothetical)

na(-luni) (in order to)

natka(-anun) (until)

ngra(-an) (although)

niar(-tuq) (so that)
 qaq(-luni) ((while)now and then -ing)
 qaraa(-mini)/qaraa(mi) (when first)
 raar(-luni) (after(first))
 vailg(-an) (before)
 vakar(-luni) (while)
 vke peg(-nani) (without -ing)

24) NOMINALIZERS

(g)aq/taq (passive participle)
 (g)arkaq (s.th. which should be -ed)
 cetaaq (s.th. to cause one to -)
 (u)ciq (state/fact/object clause)
 jaiikun/jaiikutaq (meansto prevent)
 jaraq (way of/devise for)
 juli (one good at -ing)
 junqegli (one who loves to/crazy about-ing)
 (s)kar(aq) ((the)one who -s)
 ke /kengaq (the thing one is -ing)
 lria(q)/^{((1)nguq)}_^ (present participle active/one who)
~~((1)nguq) (- ")~~
 req (1) (past participle active/passive/one's action)
 lgun (fellow at -ing)
 ((u)n/(u)taq) (means/time/instrument for)
 neq (1) (state/result/action, etc.)
 neq (2)/req (2) (more/most)
 neraq/neraraq(1) (one who recently-)
 suun (means/instrument)
 (s)ta (agent/-er)
 taciq (degree of-)
 ((u)tiiq) (celebration of -ing)

tuli (1) (one who regularly/easily-)
 vaa (exclam. show -!)
 (r)vik (1) (place/time for)

25) NOMINAL EXTENDERS

cengaq (one with a little -)
 (in) (pair/group of - number)
 kekriik/kekriit (pair/mutual -s)
 kuaq (remains of)
 (kuciq) (one of the same kind as -deictics)
 lek (owner/one provided with)
 lgun (fellow)
 linraq (remains of)
 (lirmi) (place to the -of)
 (taq) (thing from past)
 lquq (old broken piece of)
 huk (1) (one with a bad -)
 miu (dweller)
 miutaq (thing living in-)
 ngalnguq (one similar to-)
 nkuk/nkut (-and family/companions)
 (qliq/qlikacaar(aq)) (most in a direction)
~~(qu(-mik)) (so many times)~~
 qu(aq) (thing to be used as)
 (qva(ar)) (far/near in a direction)
 tuli (2) (one who has lots of-)
 (ng)uaq (pretend/toy/thing like a -)
 (r)vik (2) (place/time)

26) NOMINAL MODIFIERS

ar(aq) (small(bit of))
 cileq (worthless/dilapidated)
 cuar(aq) (small)
 cuk (lousy/ugly old)

cunqaq (dear/little)
 (irun) (deceased)
 ja(g)aq (small/young)
 kaq (future/material for)
 (kar(aq)/ksuar(aq)) (small)
 kegtaar(aq) (new/good)
 kuineq (a little bit of)
 kujuk/kujugaq (meagre little bit of)
 liaq (made(by))
 luataq (good)
 leq (former)
 ler(aq) (shabby old)
 lkuk (no good)
 lruaraq (meagre)
 luk(2)(bad/old)
 neraq/nerar(aq)(2) (new)
 nginaq (only/mere)
 ngjaar(aq)/ngiar(aq) (old)
 ngnagaq (poor quality/damned)
 ngsak (small/unimportant)
 (r)pak (big)
 pi(g)aq/pik (real)
 qtaq (cute/poor little/damned)
 qucuk (little)
 (rlainaq) (all of/solely)
 rlugaq (good old)
 rluk (unpleasant)
 rpa~~ler~~(aq) (huge)
 rpa~~ur~~(aq) (mostly)
 rugaat (lots of /crowd of)
 ruk (large)
 raq (a little/few)

taq (pertaining to)
 (ng)un (owned by/one's supply of)
 urluq (poor dear)
 vialuk (shabby/funny old)

ENCLITICS

am (then/again -contrast/emphasis)
 gem (I thought/it seems)
 guq (he/they say)
 hwa (maybe)
 (juuq) (vocative -added to pronoun)
 (kika) (exclamations)
 kiq (I wonder)
 (i) (emphasis -deictics)
 ti (why!-emphasis)
 tu (and)
 mi (contrast/.how about-?)
 qaa (interrogative)
 tuq/kin (would that/I wish -)

INDEX FOR MAIN DIALECTS

There are a few conventions in connection with the following index that should be noted. The numbers following the abbreviations for the four dialects concerned refer to the pages on which the affix can be found. Copper affixes with an /h/ will be found under corresponding forms with /s/ except when the item has no direct counterpart in other dialects. North Slope forms with /q/ or /k/ before another consonant (or finally in verbal affixes) will be ordered along with forms that have /r/ or /g/ in other dialects - except where there is no direct counterpart elsewhere. North Slope items with /ž/ or /č/ are listed together with corresponding forms in other dialects with /j/ or /s/ if these exist, and in the same circumstances /ngng/ finds its place along with /nng/ in other dialects. Copper forms with /tt/ are listed with correlates in /ts/ where these exist. Letters with diacritic marks follow entries with the simple letter (and forms with diacritics can be found listed with correlates with the simple letter). Nominal forms ending in /k/ and /q/ are distinguished from verbal ones ending in /g/ and /r/ from the same source for all dialects except North Slope, where these fall together. As everywhere in the manual, forms quoted are those found after vowels, so when looking up an affix following a consonant it may be necessary to check under /v/ for an initial /p/, ^{and} under /g/ for initial /k/. Similarly, for West Greenlandic, an affix with initial /t/ might be found under /s/, for North Slope one with a /g/ might be found under /s/, and one with /t/ under /ž/ (or /l/), and, finally, for Copper and Tarramiut, one with initial /t/ might be found under /j/, and one with /g/ under /j/ also.

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(t)siiji(g) T 70
(t)siijiut(i) T 70; C((t)hidjiut(i))71
sikag T 78
sikak T 105
sima WG 78,82; T 66,78,84,103; C 79; NS 79,83
simaar WG 78; C(himaar)81
simangaar T 78
sinig T 101
sinnar WG 76,84,86; NS(siñnaq)79
(t)siq T 105; C(hiq)109
siqingit NS 85
(t)sir WG 70; T 70,74,102; C((t)hir)71,75,87; NS((t)siq)71
siriar WG 74; C(hiriar)73; NS(siriag)75
siriit WG 74; C(hiriit)73
sirtu(r) T 72; C(hirtur)79
sit T 88
(suk)sii NS 71
siur WG 66,68; T 66,68; C(hiur)67,69; NS(siug)67
siut WG 88; T 88
siut(i) WG 96
(r)sivasik WG 100
ssa WG 82,86
ssaæliqi WG 64
ssaar WG 80
ssaasua WG 64
ssagaluar WG 82,86
ssamaaq WG 92
ssamaar WG 72
ssamaartuu WG 72
ssanga(tit) WG 70

- ssaq WG 92
ssaqqaar WG 86
ssaqqig WG 64
ssa(tsia)rsuaq WG 92
ssi WG 68
ssiag WG 90
ssiari WG 68
ssit WG 70
~~ssuug~~ WG 98
ssusiq WG 88
ssut WG 88
ssut(i) WG 74
ssuug WG 98
su T 80
(r)suannuaq WG 92
(r)suaq WG 92
(r)suar WG 78
suar T 72
sug T 70; NS(suk)71,112
(ga)sugi WG 70
~~sugžuk~~
sugnait NS 83
sugnaq NS 83
sugžuk NS 77,93
suir T 74,78; C(huir)73; NS(suiq)71,112
suit T 72; C(huit)73; NS 79,81
suli NS 95
sungainnaq NS 81
sungar WG 80,99
sugnait NS 83
sugnaq NS 83
sungniq NS 91
sungnit NS 69
sunngu T 78; C(hunngu)83
sunni WG 90
sunniq T 90
sunnit WG 68
sug WG 88; NS 79
sugtilaag NS 73,111
sur T 103
(r)sur WG 70,80; T 70.
(ga)suri WG 70
surnaag NS 75
sussaa WG 74
suu NS 81
suug T 88
suur WG 74
suusi WG 96
(r)sug NS 67
t WG 66; T 66; C 67; NS 67
taali WG 72
t(s)aaliur WG 96
taaq WG 92,94; T 92; NS 77,110
taar WG 66; T 66; C 75,106,108
taari NS 110
(t)tai C 85
(t)taili T 90; C 73
(t)tailinngit T 104
tainnar C 79,108
tajaar WG 97
talik T 90
tanngit WG 98
tag WG 92; T 92; C 93; NS 93
tar WG 66; T 66; C 67,81,107; NS(tag)67

<u>tarig</u> T 66	<u>taik</u> NS 93
<u>ta'rujaraar</u> C 81	<u>tqu</u> C 73
(t)taug T 94;C((p)taug)95;NS((p)taug)95	<u>tquhuit</u> C 73
<u>taaili</u> NS 73	<u>tqunarhi</u> C 75
<u>tiaq</u> T 104	<u>tqunngit</u> C 73
<u>tigi</u> WG 76;T 76;C 77;NS 77	<u>tqut</u> C 106;NS 110
<u>tiinnar</u> WG 86	<u>tse</u>
<u>tilaaq</u> C 89;NS 71,89	<u>tseali</u> WG 72
<u>tir</u> WG 70,80;T 80;C 81;NS(tiq)77	<u>tsear</u> T 80
<u>tiraanginnar</u> C 79	<u>tsag</u> WG 78;NS(tak)112
<u>tirhar</u> C 81	<u>tsaggaa(r)</u> T 76
<u>tiri</u> WG 80;C 81	<u>tsai(n)nar</u> T 80
<u>tit</u> WG 70,72,86;T 72,86;C 73,87;NS 73,87	<u>tsajaq</u> T 90
<u>titaar</u> WG 96	<u>tsalauliri</u> T 84
<u>titar</u> C 73;NS(titaq)73	<u>tsamarig</u> T 78
<u>titir</u> WG 72,96;T 70;C 73	<u>tsangaalir</u> T 84
<u>titkiig</u> C 71	<u>tsangaar</u> T 84
<u>titkutari</u> C 106	<u>tsangidla-kiaq</u> T 104
<u>tkuajaat</u> NS 91	<u>tsangua(a)lir</u> T 102
<u>tkuk</u> NS 83	<u>tsanguar</u> T 76
<u>tkut</u> C 91;NS 91	<u>tsaniar</u> T 80
<u>tkak(taq)</u> NS 79	<u>tsaq</u> T 92
<u>tqaar</u> C 81,87	<u>tse(r)</u> T 66,84,102
<u>tqaari</u> C 108	<u>tsaralua</u> T 104
<u>tqajar</u> C 79	<u>tsari</u> T 66
<u>tqammig</u> C 89	<u>tsariir</u> T 78
<u>tqammir</u> C 83	<u>tse(laa)ruar</u> T 86
<u>tqig</u> C 67,81;NS(taik)69,81	<u>tsautigi</u> T 78
<u>tqijannuaq</u> C 109	<u>tsavag</u> T 103
<u>tqijaq</u> C 89	<u>tsialak</u> WG 92
<u>tqijarjuag</u> C 109	
(ju)tqijau(juma) C 73,109	

- tsiangit T 76
tsiannguag WG 92
tsiaq WG 92; T 92; NS(tčiaq) 67, 93
tsiar WG 76; T 78; C(ttiar) 77
tsiarig T 67; C(ttiarig) 68
tsi(g) T 74
tsiriit T 74
ttag(piar) C 77
ttiarir C 107
ttuar T 80
ttur WG 66
tu WG 66; T 66; C 67, 77; NS 67
tuadli T 80
tualuk C 93; NS 93
tuag WG 92; T 92; C 93
tuar T 72, 86; C 87, 108; NS(tuag) 81
tuaraa C 87
tugi WG 96
tui T 102, 103
tuinnamuur T 103
tuinnag T 92
tuinna(r) WG 80; T 78, 84; C 81; NS
 (tuinnag) 81
tujaar WG 66
tunig C 106
tug WG 94; NS 95
tugag WG 92; T 92; C 109
tur WG 70; T 70, 82; C 71, 81; NS
 (tug) 69
turjuina(a)r T 76
turnirhi C 77
tusi WG 66; T 66; C(tubi) 67
tuula NS 79
tuuma WG 66; T 82
tuug WG 90; T 90, 94; NS 95
tuur WG 68; T 68; C 69
tuurlik T 90
u WG 64; T 64; C 65; NS 65, 67
udjaa(r) T 70
~~udju~~
udjur T 74; C 75
ugaluag WG 92; T 92; C 93
ugar T 82
ujaq T 90; C 91
uja(a)r T 68; C 69, 79, 107; NS(uža(a)q) 79,
 85, 93
ukkaq NS 67
uli T 101
uma T 78
umi WG 76; T 76
umigi T 76
umijaar T 76; C 77
uminginna(r) T 76
umisaar WG 80
umitta(r) T 76
(j)ummir WG 78; T 78
un NS 89
unaar T 70
unar T 101
un(n)iit T 94
unig WG 92
unnaq NS 89
unnii NS 95
uqqa(r) T 103
uqquutug T 104
ur WG 80; T 82
usaar WG 68, 80
usag WG 97

usa(a)q WG 90

usar WG 76

usiag WG 90; T 88; NS 89

usiq WG 88; T 88; C(uhig)89; NS 89

ussur WG 74

ut WG 88; T 88,90; C 89,93

ut(i) WG 74,92; T 74; C 75; NS 75,91

utaa WG 99

utag WG 99

utari C 81

utigi WG 74,86; T 74; C 75; NS 75,87

vaadlu(g) T 78

vaadluk NS 79

vaaluk NS 91

vadlaaq T 88; NS 111

vadlaar C 77

vadlag T 68,70; C 69,83

vadlai T 70,84; C 71

vadlak T 88

vadlar C 85

vadlia T 78; C 81

vadlir T 76; NS(vadliq)71,83,77

vadluq T 90

vag T 82,103; C 81

vai^hauq NS 111

vait NS 77

valaur T 103

valir T 78; C 85

vallaanngit WG 76

vallaar WG 76,86

valraalug C 108

valug T 68,70,84; C 106

valuir C 106

valuk T 88

var WG 96; T 101; C 106

vasungaar T 76

vattialir C 85

viaq NS 83

viar C 107

vig WG 76,86; T 70,78

vigi WG 74; T 74; C 75; NS 75

vig^huk NS 77

viinnga T 76

vik WG 88,92; T 88,92; C 89; NS 89,111

vilir T 78

vinaaluk T 105

vingaar T 102

(ju)vinig T 82,90; C 109; NS(vi^hig)91

vinngit WG 84

vi^haq NS 74

visi T 78

vissur WG 76,86; T 70,78

vittalik T 90

vsaaq NS 81

vsuug NS 113

žagšari NS 75

žagšau NS 75

žaq NS 81,89

žao^htug NS 112

žaraaq NS 81,87

žara^hig NS 112

žaraq NS 81,85,89

žau NS 75

ži NS 75,89

žuaq NS 89

(r)žuaq NS 91

žugšaq NS 89

žugšari NS 75

žugšau NS 75

(r)žuiññaq NS 79,93

žuk NS 113

(r)žuužaq NS 93

žžarsi NS 79

CE980F1983 Same entry, 183, 130 Mr.

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Further Errata

- p.20 P.Hope palatal fricative(voiced?)final only. All palatal/alveolar cons. distinctions neutralized.
- p.18 Foot 65. 1s -vut is original, -rput a Greenlandic development(not found in southernmost W Gr).
- p.48 W Gr ataar under 22 is rataar after r-stems usually.
- p.58 Foot 45.W Gr rrat(i) and t(i) - as also qqut(i) in foot 9.
- p.81 'Iluanngidlualiqigaa' should be iluanngigidlualiqigaa(two occurrences);/g/ between V &/i/ is very weak.Foot 2:A common construction,with person marker following huaq.
- p.48 W Gr nngitsuur is 'did not though should have/expected to'.
- p.40 W Gr sassaa⁻⁸⁰ and p.52 under 24 saq/gaq (no '+' first).To foot 80 (p.59)add:ussaq in combination with ut(i).
- p.54 W Gr vvaarik is usually a nominalizer.
- p.119ff. In index change W Gr ma entry to: 17,(11).Also adjust W Gr tir and tiri 17, usa(a)q 25,and usar 15.Add NS ngaiq 17; NS kasak should be 18 and gataq just 17.
- p.65 Foot 95.ržuk is not 'big' but a form of aržuk 'younger/smaller/thing like',acc. MacLean,who also has užaq as well as gaužaq productively in the sense 'small'. Foot 88:aq not necessarily 'less productive' and gaq only after double vowels,acc.MacLean.Foot 21 on p.64 is superfluous.
- p.36 W Gr njar under 5 should be +(n)njar (i.e. t/g + njar (2));also nom.(n)niaq under 25.
- p.38 W Gr qqusaa can also be 'must/have been told to'.
- p.50 W Gr ratar is rather 'suddenly/surprisingly'.
- p.65 Foot 84.i.e. as nom .modifier.Can also be enclitic('most/more').Remove '%' from main entry(and example on p.67).
- p.7 On map name list:Ungalaqtiit (as well as with double 'l'),Ugiuvak,Kingigin(Cape P.of Wales),Qamanittuaq , Paulatuq ,and Nuataaq
- p.59 Foot 60.vinngit = 'really not' in SWG(= CWG nngivig).
- p.91 'Qarlīgaaluuka' should be qarlīgaaluukka(three occurrences).
- p.82 'taanna' should be written taunna ,and on this page and p.81 'tahha(ni)' is best written tassa(never pronounced with /h/).
- p.122 Add to index 'kapit T16' and (p.127) 'rujuk WG 26',and (p.125)change 'ngirsaa(r)' to:nngirsaa WG 17.
- p.44. Tarr. si is truncating in the sense 'begin'.WGr (r)sari should be in brackets(can also mean 'several times' as a narrative strengthener).Remove WGr leqqissaa/liinnar from 17.
- p.17 Foot 45.Dorais describes the glottal element as following the first consonant;Massenet (1986) speaks of 'glottalized obstruents'(from geminate fricatives - also /r/plus fric.). Geminate /j/ is thus a retroflex [cc'],not 'dj'.Geminate /l/ is not glottalized (as in P.Esk.),but is tenser,more fricative,acc. Massenet.
- p.62 Foot 104.Itivim. has r'ruaq(alongside 'juaq'),truncating,for 'big' and ar'juk 'dear/nice' alongside aar'juk 'dear little',acc. Massenet.
- p.58 Foot 10.'+siut(i)' should be:liut(i)(=siut(i) after t-stems).
- p.68 E Gr qqaartar rather than 'qqaartari';Addenda 2 for p.74 should have qqaartalir(also (ng)imiar rather than 'ungimiar').
- p.43 N Slope paluk(1) should be under 22 (exclamatory).
- p.46 Add after W Gr kula(ar) also kullatsit 'more frequently'(and remove from Addenda 2,p.44).
- p.68 P.E. har in halir,etc. probably (r)h(u)ar;hhiir is probably W.Gr. ssaar and jungniir for jungnair.
- p.44 Add under 16 for W Gr:llašaar after riašaar/riataar (this is the 'llašaar' erroneously cited in Addenda 2 for p.59,foot 50).Replace W.Gr 'ngajaar' under 17 with ngajassaa.

✓ APPENDIX 2

- p. 7 Change 'Sugluk'(no.27)to:Salluit, 'Kangiqsujuaq'(no.26)to:Kangiqsujuaq, and 'Sanikilluaq'(no.31)to:Sani-killuaq.
- p. 8 Line 13, first column, replace 'there is probably a merger' with: Søndre Upemavik has /ss/ (except from */tsi/), while elsewhere there is a merger to /ts/.
- p.11 Line 30, second column, change 'more precisely [ɕɕ] 'to: for older [ɕɕ].
- p.16 Foot 20, add after 'boundaries in E Gr. and': generally in. Add after '[c] before original /i/ but not': -except in the northernmost settlements-. Add to end: Dorais reports [s] rather than [c] after /r/.
Foot 21, add after 'before a consonant in Upemavik': -where /awa/ < /ua/ is also heard. Add to end: Also typi-cal of MWG is 2s -mut (and other oblique possessed inflections) and affix +susiq following r-stems.
Foot 27, add after '*niarit'. Note also qqurtuu(aa) 'thinks he has very/too much' from qqurtuu + gi(+vaa).
Foot 30, replace 'in W Gr. There is doubtless...underway' with: (or /Cs/) in W Gr. - today at any rate there appears to be a complete merger between the two.
Foot 31, lines 6 & 7, change 'urartiivaanga' and 'urartiivaa' to: uraaliivaanga and uraaliivaa. Add to 4th line up after 'with a labial'. Hypercorrection has also produced forms like ittunnu 'in my house'. 2nd line up, change 'imperative nngaat' to: 2s interrogative nngaat, and to bottom line add after 'Thalbitzer': is 1p-3s, -vangi(t) 1p-3p; Robbe and Dorais have -varput for both, also -vatsi 2p-3s/p.
p.17 Foot 31, replace 'the use of 3rd person....pers. commun.' with: the neutralization in the poss. ending -at (his things/their thing(s)). Add to end: The initial consonant of intr. indicative -vuq, etc. is usually weakened to Ø, and affix (ʔ)iar commonly appears before causative/conditional endings; also (r)iatso in hypothetical con-ditionals and before trans. participial endings used optatively, acc. Robbe & Dorais (forthcoming EG dictionary).
Foot 34, replace '[ixu]' with: '[i'lu]', and add after 'voiced or voiceless': (or start with a glottalized ele-ment, as with geminate /l/).
Foot 32, add to end: Faint nasalization can still be heard word-finally from some speakers (also in ii 'yes').
Foot 33, add after '(W Gr. uanga)': according to the same authors. I have not found these latter traits in the speech of younger E Gr. speakers.
Foot 35, add to end: [h] rather than [ç] is usual among younger speakers (though /ss/ in some words such as tassa from W Gr.), and they also have assibilated /t/ before /i/ as in W Gr.
Foot 43, add: ʒ + C has generally gone to CC in E Inuktitut, except where metathesis has occurred or where a resulting g + C has been preserved.
Foot 38, add: Other geminate fricatives (e.g. /m/) may also begin with a stop-like element.
p.19 Foot 67, 2nd line up, 1st column, add after 'undergo metathesis': or 'i, 'dropping. Add to end: Metathesis of ori-ginal fricative sequences has gone furthest in Greenland, but occurs sporadically elsewhere - compare the following forms corresponding to W Gr. tassa 'there(is)': Baffin tagva/tawva (latter also Lab.), Tarr. tagga, Nets., N Slope and S. Pen. tavza, Co. talva, Mack. tajva and Kob. tazza, all from *taʒva, still heard from some N Slope speakers. Together with semantically corresponding E Gr. taava and P. Esk. taaja these forms represent a kind of Inuit shibboleth.
Foot 70, remove 'With some aspiration -'.
Foot 73, change 'is also met' to: is usual today.
Foot 75, change 'tuqjaghaa' to: toqjaghaa, 'jaghaq' to: jaaghaq, 'aaniariaghataluunniit' to: aaniariaghaataluunniit, and 'annautijaghaangata' to: annautijaghangata.
Foot 71, add: Though Copper and other W Inuk. dialects have kept /m/ from */m/ and dental stop plus labial/dental consonant is preserved as in atpa 'guillemot' (E Inuk. agpa), with certain other clusters W Inuk. follows E Inuk. (and P. Esk.) in replacing the dental cons. with a velar one as in aglu 'breathing hole' (Alaskan alu).
p.21 Foot 104, add: and /tj/ here and in S. Pen. to /dj/ in Canada corresponding to W Gr. /ss/.
p.22 Add to 4. after '(except /ts/)': but into /g/ before a dental/labial (and */m/ > /mm/ and */nng/ > /nng/).
p.34 Add to W Gr. 'gasag' under 'having': /gasaar-106.
p.35 Add foot reference '68' after Co. (nngu) under 'feeling'.
p.36 Add foot reference '11' after W Gr. (a) under 'acquiring' and remove brackets from 'nnag' (& bracket 'ssi' below).
p.37 Change Co. 'hima(n)nait' under 'acquiring' to: himannait.
p.38 Change W Gr. 'qqusaa' under 'causation & request' to: qqusaa, and add foot ref. '108' to W Gr. '(riar)' (line 9).
p.40 Add to W Gr. 'niarsari' under 'striving & intending': /niarsuaar and change W Gr. 'juut/juir' to: juut-107.
p.43 Change Co. '(d)luajuit' entry under 'degree' to: dluajuit (won't even - though could), and move it under 'potentiality' on p.41. Change gloss of Co. kaphug to: 'for a while', replace '(d)luar' by: dluar, and '+tu (2)' by: tu/rtu.
p.44 Add to W Gr. 'rulg/ruluur' under 'manner': /rullir, and replace 'kkisir' entry with: kullatsit (clumsily); add to 'ummir': /ummi, and to 'rusaar/luusaar': /ruusaar. Bracket W Gr. 'sugar' under 'phase of completion'.
p.45 Change Co. 'huir' under 'phase of completion' to: huir.
p.47 Change Co. 'haritu' under 'frequency and duration' to: haritu, and add foot ref. '68' after 'hunngu' under 'tense'.
p.48 Add to gloss of W Gr. 'ngusan' under 'subjective coloration': -ironic, and change gloss of W Gr. '(+sima)ssa' to: must have/be.
p.49 Add foot ref. '82' to Co. 'nnir' under 'subjective coloration'.
p.50 Change W Gr. 'kkajaaq' under 'nominalizers' to: (kkajaaq/kujuuq).
p.54 Under W Gr. 'nominal modifiers' remove 'kkataaq (rather big)' and add: kujuit (dear little ones - ironic).
p.55 Add to gloss of Co. 'nnguaq': toy/artificial.

ADDENDA

- p. 3 'Unuit' for 'Inuit' in the inset title (a late typographical error) is not intended as an abbreviation for 'United Inuit' (but, there again, why not?).
- p. 16 Foot 22, change 'with lengthened vowel' to: but without lengthened vowel; statements have an antepenultimate fall.
- p. 17 Foot 45, add after 'geminate 'j2': A glottal stop in connection with original geminate voiced fricatives is also optional in Cumberland Peninsula. In Itivimmiut it fully replaces /r/ before another voiced fricative, acc. Dorais.
Foot 49, add after '(3rd plural.)': - also transitive 2nd sing.-3rd sing.), and also negative 3rd sing. nngilaang, all with a final nasal/nasalized vowel.
Foot 51, add: Schneider's law is reported to be making inroads at Cape Dorset (Harper, pers. comm.).
- p. 18 Foot 52, add after 'in the West': and, with lengthening, in Tarramiut (where requests for confirmation involve overlengthening).
Foot 56, add after 'W Gr. -pput': and the 2nd sing.-3rd. sing. form is -vait.
- p. 19 Foot 71, add after 'Mackenzie': Iṁupiaq.
Foot 72, add: Dorais & Lowe report /nng/ and /mng/ as the regular reflexes of /nr/ and /mr/ here (and no hug/hag forms heard).
Foot 75, add after 'object clause form.': It does use giaghaq this way, as in N Baffin-Aivilik, however.
- p. 20 Foot 78, add: The prevalence of the -yug indicative in his text is not typical of the contemporary spoken language, acc. Briggs.
Foot 80, change 'deep falls early in phrase' to: rapid downdrift from high phrase-initial pitch.
Foot 81, add: a flapped allophone [ɫ] of /j/ is heard before another consonant, as in ajgait 'hands', acc. Dorais.
Foot 85, add: Acc. Dorais & Lowe (Inuit Studies 6.2, p. 129) there is a difference between past and non-past indicative here, as at Barrow; the former has truncating forms like -gaa (/r/ & /g/-stems) and -taa (/t/-stems).
Foot 89, add: In Sigliq and at Holman Island final labials are always nasal and there is an etymological distinction between final /n/ and /t/, as in Alaska, acc. Dorais & Lowe.
Foot 93, add after 'single phonemes.': [X] is also found intervocally (in Kobuk = [h], as alternatively after a consonant also in Barrow) in forms like uniaghauṣag 'small sled'; [x] is rare, however, outside of the contemporative forms.
Foot 96, add: /ɬ/ is apparently being replaced by /l/ (or /h/ in the contemporative) by speakers at Wainwright.
- p. 21 Foot 99, change 'outside of Barrow' to: everywhere outside of Barrow. The intrusive schwa between adjacent sonorants (harmonizing with flanking vowels) does not affect the positioning of intonational contours.
Foot 102, add after 'for /s/': (as also in the Iṁupiaq of the Mackenzie area).
Foot 107, add after '/tt/': (and /r/ in strong position may tend to be devoiced, to judge by 'qh' spellings in some Seward Peninsula school texts).
Foot 109, add after 'levelling': and [ɛ] for /ai/ may be heard also in Barrow.
Foot 111, add: Another way of formulating this (and the next three text sentences) is to say that the forms based on ṣag usually express a past indicative mood but may also be nominal, whereas those based on kkag are more commonly nominal today. MacLean's '4th person object' forms -ṣangata & -kkangan are the relative case of the nominally used participials (contrasting with absolute case -ṣani). -ṣuag/-ṣa(ng)a as a past tense is less used the further one gets from Barrow (e.g. in Mackenzie Iṁupiaq and Kobuk).
Foot 115, add: Following vowel stems the alternative causative is -kami.
Foot 116, add after '-ṣing': and 3rd sing. possessive -at alongside utaa from alienable possession affix ut(i) plus -a

ADDENDA 2

- p.7 Change 'Sugluk'(no.27) to : Salluit
- p.16 Foot 27,add after '*-niarit)': Note also qqurtuu(aa)'(he)thinks (he)has 'too/very much' from qqurtuuq + gi (+vaa).
Foot 31,second line up,change 'imperative ngaata' to: 2s interrogative ngaata
 Add to 4th line up after 'with a labial.': Hypercorrection has also produced forms like ittunnu 'in my house'.
 Bottom line,add after 'Thalbitzer' : is 1p-3s,-vangi(t)1p-3p;Robbe and Dorais have -varput for both,also -vatsi 2p-3s/p
- p.17 Foot 31,add : Affix (ř)iar appears commonly before intr. causative/conditional endings,and (ř)iatsa is used in hypothetical conditional forms,and before transitive participial endings corresponding to lost intr. optative forms,acc.Robbe and Dorais (forthcoming E Gr. dictionary).They also have niartini-li'while'(W Gr.niarlunilu).
Foot 43,add : ž + C has generally gone to CC in E Inuktitut,except where metathesis has occurred or where a resulting g + C has been preserved.
Foot 38,add : Other geminate fricatives (e.g. /rr/)may also begin with a corresponding stop-like element.
- p.19 Foot 67,add : Metathesis of original fricative sequences has gone furthest in Greenland,but occurs sporadically elsewhere - compare the following forms corresponding to W Gr.tašša 'there (is)':Baffin tagva/tavva,Labr. tavva,Tarr. tagga,Nets.,N Slope and S.Pen. tavža,Co. talva,Mack. tajva and Kob. tažža,all from *tažva,still to be heard from some N Slope speakers.Together with semantically corresponding E Greenlandic taava and P.Esk. taaja these forms represent a kind of Inuit shibboleth.
Foot 71,add : Though Copper and other W Inuktitut dialects have kept /nm/ from /t+m/ and the combination of dental stop plus labial/dental consonant has been preserved as in atpa 'guillemot' - E Inuktitut agpa -,in certain other consonant clusters W Inuktitut follows E Inuktitut (and P.Eskimo)in replacing an original dental consonant with a velar one,as in aglu 'breathing hole'- Alaskan allu(<*anlu).
- p.21 Foot 104,add : and /tj/ here and in S.Peninsula to /dj/ in Canada corresponding to W Greenlandic /ss/.
- p.22 Add to 4. after '(except /ts/)': but into /g/ before a dental/labial consonant(and /nm/ > /mm/ and /n+ng/ > /nng/)
- p.47 Add superscript '68' after hunngu under Copper 19.
- p.55 Add to gloss of Copper nnguaq : toy/artificial
- p.58 Foot 20,add after 'Maniitsoq' : (also E Greenlandic)
- p.59 Foot 78,add brackets within ni(ari)utaa
- p.62 Foot 40,add:Lowe also has vigihur 'always have as place of'.
Foot 104,add : (but Dorais reports Itivimmiut rruaq for rjuaq and arruk for arjuk).
- p.68 Expand E Gr. nasii gloss to : (think that/without doubt,9/20)
- p.70 Change numbers in gloss of Labrador nngu from '9/4' to 10/3
- p.74 Foot 2,add : Robbe and Dorais have nirsiř-inna(enclitic-plus-participial construction) in the sense 'probably/no doubt'.They also have kkajikkaaju as an intensifier ('greatly').

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Foot 5, add : Robbe and Dorais, however, have rujug either in the sense 'with force/severely' or 'a little'. Note also their pattivagajiit 'many'.

Foot 7, add : There is in general much morphophonemic overgeneralization of initial consonants and hypercorrection of vowels - there are differences here between the variety of the dialect reported by Grann and that reflected in Robbe and Dorais : (which may show less influence from W Greenlandic). Affix forms quoted by the latter not present in Grann's listings include: (j)artivinnar 'more and more', (j)aarnirtu 'habitually early', (j)ařar 'one after another', kkajig/kkajitsaar 'often', kkiit(i) 'make into/use for' (and other forms with /kk/ for initial /l/), laa 'complain of', liar for W Greenlandic lisar or lisaar, ungimiar for W Gr. kkuminar, misag 'nevertheless/ still', ngalaar 'take a long time -ing', piluinnar 'in vain', ppalig 'look/seem', qqaa-ngik for W Gr. vvaarik, qqartalir 'on point of', qqilaar 'resemble' (and qqiilaq 's.th. resembling a -'), qqinnig 'good for a-', rarpianngil(aq) 'have few', ralaar 'have scattered' (and ralir 'be smeared with'), nguttur for W Gr. ruttur, rasaat 'some/rather many', (r)siir 'serve', (t)taakkaaju(k) 'easily/inclined to', lingii 'as if', tsarsi 'get for s.o.', tsiiaa 'wait for', ttangiar 'violently/suddenly', nngivartivaq 'pretty', and lii/řaat 'several do'.

p.91 Line 9, change 'tagpikuuna' to: tatpikuuna

5th line from end, change 'tagpagaguuq' to : tatpagaguuq

p.102 Line 5, change 'lously' to : lousy

p.11 line 30, column 2, change 'more precisely [φφ]' to: for older [φφ]

p.19 Foot 70, remove 'With some aspiration-'

Foot 73, change 'is also met' to: is usual today

Foot 75, change 'tuqujaghaa' to: tuqujaaghaa, 'jaghaq' to: jaaghaq, 'aanniariaghataluunniit' to: aanniariaghaataluunniit, and 'annautijaghaangata' to: annautijaaghangata

p.43 Change Copper '+ (d)luajuit' entry to: 'dluajuit (won't even -though can)' and move from 15. to 13. Change 'from time to time' on gloss of kaphug to: 'for a while', and change '+ (d)luar' to: 'dluar' and change '+tu(2)' to: 'tu/rtu' under Copper 15.

p.45 Change '+huir' to: 'huir' under Copper 17. and 'haritu' to: '+haritu' under 18. (p.47).

p.62 Foot 28, add: Lowe has taar after vowel stems.

Foot 32, replace final sentence with: Lowe has giir after vowel stems also in the perfective sense 'have already', also giirtit 'keep from -ing'.

Foot 33, add: Lowe has +huit 'never'.

p.63 Foot 54, add: Lowe has gaanginnar/raanginnar 'always' (cf. my raar(2)?)

Foot 68, begin: 'nngit has' and add after 'nngu': & hunngu, which apparently truncates t-stems

Foot 74, add: Lowe has iraar as the form of tqaar following vowel stems (similarly with lrammir/tqammir).

Foot 79, change giagha(ani) to: giagha(ni) - also in Foot 80. Add to end: Lowe has jaa-gha after vowel-stems corresponding to giagha after g- (and r-) stems in indirect qs.

Foot 101, remove 'elsewhere either'

p.66 After Copper hima(n)nait change example to: inughimannaittuq

p.67 After Copper nnir change example to: tuqujuunnirtuq

Foot 5, add : Robbe and Dorais, however, have rujug either in the sense 'with force/severely' or 'a little'. Note also their pattivagajiit 'many'.

Foot 7, add : There is in general much morphophonemic overgeneralization of initial consonants and hypercorrection of vowels - there are differences here between the variety of the dialect reported by Grann and that reflected in Robbe and Dorais (which may show less influence from W Greenlandic). Affix forms quoted by the latter not present in Grann's listings include: (j)artivinnar 'more and more', (j)aarnirtu 'habitually early', (j)ãrar 'one after another', kkajig/kkajitsaar 'often', kkiit(i) 'make into/use for' (and other forms with /kk/ for initial /l/), laa 'complain of', liar for W Greenlandic lisar or lisaar, ungimiar for W Gr. kkuminar, misag 'nevertheless/still', ngalaar 'take a long time -ing', piluinnar 'in vain', ppalig 'look/seem', qqaa-ngik for W Gr. vvaarik, qqartalir 'on point of', qqilaar 'resemble' (and qqiilaq 's.th. resembling a -'), qqinnig 'good for a-', rarpianngil(aq) 'have few', ralaar 'have scattered' (and ralir 'be smeared with'), nguttur for W Gr. ruttur, rasaat 'some/rather many', (r)siir 'serve', (t)taakkaaju(k) 'easily/inclined to', lingii 'as if', tsarsi 'get for s.o.', tsiiaa 'wait for', ttangiar 'violently/suddenly', nngivartivaq 'pretty', and lii/raat 'several do'.

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5th line from end, change 'tagpagaguug' to : tatpagaguug
- p.102 Line 5, change 'lously' to : lousy
- p.11 line 30, column 2, change 'more precisely [φφ]' to: for older [φφ]
- p.19 Foot 70, remove 'With some aspiration-'
Foot 73, change 'is also met' to: is usual today
Foot 75, change 'tuqujaghaa' to: tuqujaaghaa, 'jaghaq' to: jaaghaq, 'aanniariaghataluunniit' to: aanniariaghaataluunniit, and 'annautijaghaangata' to: annautijaaghangata
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- p.45 Change '+huir' to: 'huir' under Copper 17. and 'haritu' to: '+haritu' under 18. (p.47).
- p.62 Foot 28, add: Lowe has taar after vowel stems.
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- p.63 Foot 54, add: Lowe has gaanginnar/raanginnar 'always' (cf. my raar(2)?)
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Foot 101, remove 'elsewhere either'
- p.66 After Copper hima(n)nait change example to: inughimannaittuq
- p.67 After Copper nnir change example to: tuqujuunnirtuq

- p. 22 Add after last line: , nor between 7. and 9.
- p. 33 Change '(and - at least Barrow - ža(ng)a)' to: or ža(ng)a.
- p. 34 Change '+(r)lug-' under 'having' (W Gr.) to: +lug-.
- p. 40 Remove 'be -ed' from gloss of W Gr. riaa(nnaa) (Potentiality).
- p. 44 Remove '/+niriq-' after 'llarig-' (W Gr.).
- p. 52 Add after W Gr. '+miu(q)': /+(r)miu.
- p. 58 Foot 34, add: The form nirig given by Bergsland always appears as rig; as with non-productive (r)lug and other affixes causing gemination in the preceding syllable, the stem vowel is retained except that 'i2' goes to /a/ (to /u/ in the case of (u)t(i) - cf. foot 29).
- p. 59 Foot 50, add: This form is otherwise used as a nominalization 'when from time to time' parallel to utaa in foot 78.
- p. 62 Foot 104, add after '(r)juangu': (and with umi & ujar (r)juumi & (r)juujar).
- p. 63 Foot 47, add after 'liarhi': and acc. Métayer vigjug.
Foot 67, add: (for taili-luni, etc.?).
Foot 71, change '+tuar' to: tuar (+tuar belongs with +juar under 'Frequency & duration', which may be for uar after vowels - cf. foot 100, p. 75).
Foot 73, add after 'a bit': - but lukkar in his dictionary, alongside lukag 'a bit/meagerly' and nominal lukak 'bad'.
- p. 64 Foot 5, add: Kobuk has igut(i).
Foot 8, add: tusi is 'get more -' (of dimensions and time).
Foot 14, add: Also apparently ukhaaq 'act just like a -'.
Foot 25, add: Note also jumalaag 'eagerly anticipate -ing'.
Foot 26, add: tčiq- can also mean 'have happen to one'.
Foot 55, add: Also tug (more abrupt?).
Foot 61, add: also (u)ma.
Foot 72, add after 'like Kobuk': (also 'be heard/sound like').
/g/ + /n/ has become /ngn/ for younger speakers at Barrow too.
- p. 65 Foot 76, add: Note also enclitic ata after imperative endings in this function.
Foot 79, add: Note also galuadlaan 'although' (with dlaq).
Foot 81, add: dlaq is generally 'while', ngngag 'when', and mmaq 'while at the same time (as doing s.th. else)'.
Foot 96, add after 'užag (little)',': ligaq (catch).
Foot 97, add: (r)žuaq & tiržuaq 'very much' may also be sentential strengtheners.
Foot 98, add: a final nasal is kept before consonant-initial enclitics as in angunlu 'and the man'.
- p. 71 Add to gloss for Caribou 'mmaar': further.
Change entry for Caribou 'tsiar' to: tsiar/tsiaq (be/have a good/much/really/good, 1/4/15/26)
- p. 74 Foot 27, add: Note also sur 'be good at catching/catch many'.
Foot 38, add after '(rujuk)': and in C.P. at least also apparently a nominal modifier 'poor/bad'.
- p. 75 Foot 85, add: also ttuaq at B.L. The usual E.P. form appears to be 'juag with a glottal stop.
Foot 98, add: Note also ratarsinnar 'all the time' - this may be the correct form for the preceding item on the list.
Foot 100, add: Métayer also has jugarnar 'be good to -' and tuatarpak 'often' (cf. the addition to foot 71 on p. 63). Dorais & Lowe state that sima may indicate a 'present continuous' aspect in Sigliq.
- p. 76 Foot 102, add after 'žug': and Métayer has pilug & marlug 'badly'.
Foot 103, add: Métayer also has u 'have lots of'.
Foot 106, add: Métayer has nominalizer lrug (plural lrit) 'most'.
Foot 107, add: Métayer also has tsiaq 'beautiful' for Copper.
Further affixes he has for the Mackenzie Delta include qgiut 'a change of -', tainnar 'have just/for 1st time' (and nggitainnar 'not yet'), suir(-ami) 'after', suk/suatsiaq 'piece of', suirsaar(tur) 'for last time', tug 'would that' (enclitic), ilitag 'protection against', and vigi 'do for' (as well as 'have as place of'). I have not been able to ascertain these forms/meanings.
Foot 111, add: piksuaq (and suag alone?) may be a verbal modifier 'strongly'.
Foot 113, add after 'time to)': and žgag 'barely'.
Foot 126, add after '-guwiung, etc.': (K.I. -gaiung)
- p. 96 Change 'Jacobsen, S.' to: Jacobson, S.
Change 'Schultz-Lorentzen, G. R.' to Schultz-Lorentzen, C. W.

- p.58 Foot 32, replace 'ruttur preferred....ssaar (greatly) and by:'. Note also vallaaluatsiar (a bit too much), .
Foot 38, change 'usaq' to: usag, and add: In combination with tit note tiiṣar.
Foot 41, add after 'after difficulty)': -also lluataar.
Foot 45, add: The most productive of these is rnat, which further suggests a crowd.
Foot 46, add: Note also ngajassaa (nearly).
p.59 Foot 49, add: and combination juarsinnar.
Foot 50, add after 'latta': and llassaar.
Foot 55, add: Note also galuassa 'whatever should happen/anyway'.
Foot 71, insert at beginning: sari (ngat) is SwGr.
Foot 78, add brackets within ni(ari)utaa.
Foot 80, add: ,with nnag 'acquire' and tār 'fetch' = nnaaq and taaḡ.
Foot 85, add: varaḡ also after single vowel in an endearing sense.
Foot 89, add: paluk can also have the sense 'dear/little' in some areas.
Foot 90, add after 'big/great': and pilurjuṣṣuaḡ 'enormous'.
Foot 94, add: truncating rsuaḡ after consonant-stem adverbials (as with rpiaḡ and rluinnaḡ). Note also raallak after directional adverbials in the same sense.
p.60 Add three more footnotes to W Gr.: 106. Commonly rasaar even after vowel or t-stems; note nominalizing gasaḡ/ rasaḡ in exclamations. 107. And note juinaar 'not -despite expectation'. 108. Note also nominal riaarmik.
p.62 Foot 10, Lowe has double nn in all these forms.
Foot 28, Lowe has taar after vowel stems.
Foot 32, replace final sentence with: Lowe has giir after vowel-stems also in sense 'already' and giirtit 'keep from -ing'.
Foot 33, add: Lowe has huit 'never'.
Foot 40, add: Lowe also has vighur 'always have as place of'.
Foot 104 (to Tarr.), add: (but Dorais reports Itivimmiut rruaq for rjuaq and arru for arjuk).
p.63 Foot 52, add: See also foot 32.
Foot 54, add: Lowe has gaanginnar/ raanginnar 'always' (cf. my'raar(2)').
Foot 57, add: Note also tqigtarpag 'several times' and nominal vagtuḡgaluaḡ 'used to'.
Foot 61, change 'raar' to: haar.
Foot 68, begin: nnḡit has , and add after 'nnḡu': -which Lowe has as nnḡur- and hunḡu, which may truncate t-stem
Foot 73, change 'Or lugtaar?' to: Probably lugtaar.
Foot 74, add: Lowe has lraar for tqaar following vowel-stems (similarly with lrammir/ tqammir).
Foot 79, change 'giagha(ani)' to: giagha(ni), also in Foot 80. Add to end: Lowe has jaagha after vowel-stems corresponding to giagha after g- (and r-) stems in indirect questions.
Foot 82, add: , and corresponding transitive jarimmir.
Foot 96, add: mahiḡ after vowels according to Lowe.
Foot 101, remove 'elsewhere either'.
p.65 Foot 95, change 'sunnḡu' to: sunnḡu.
p.66 Change Co. 'hima(n)nait' to: himannait and change example to: inughimannaittuḡ.
p.67 After Co. nnir change example to: tuqujuunnirtuḡ.
p.68 Remove E Gr. 'gaattag' and 'alittivaḡ' from list, and expand nasii gloss to: (think that/without doubt, 9/20).
p.70 Change '9/4' after Labrador 'nnḡu' to: 10/3.
p.74 Foot 1, add after 'gqutsi(ask)': -this is also true of Labrador.
Foot 2, add: Robbe & Dorais have nirsiḡ-inna (with enclitic) in the sense 'no doubt'. They also have 'kkajikkaaju' as an intensifier ('greatly').
Foot 5, add: Robbe & Dorais, however, have rujug both as 'with force' and 'a little'; also pattivagajiit 'many'.
Foot 7, add: There are differences as regards affix-initial consonants between the varieties of the dialect reported by Grann and Robbe & Dorais respectively. Affix forms quoted by the latter not found in Grann's list- ings include: (j)aarmirtu 'habitually early', (j)arar 'one after another', kkajig/ kkaj 'tsaar' 'often', kkiit(i) 'make into' (and others with kk for initial l), laa 'complain of', liar for W Gr. lisaar or lisaar, ungimiar for W Gr. kkuminar, misag 'nevertheless/still', ngalaar 'take a long time -ing', piluinnaar 'in vain', ppalig 'look/seem', qqaa- for a -, rarpianngil(aḡ) 'have few', ralaar 'have scattered' (& ralir 'be smeared with'), nguttur for W Gr. ruttur, rasaat 'rather many', (r)siir 'serve', (t)taakkaaju(k) 'easily/inclined to', lingii 'as if', tsarsi 'get for s.o.', tsiiaa 'wait for', ttangiar 'violently/suddenly', nnḡivartivaḡ 'pretty', and lii/ḡaat 'several do'.
p.79 Change footnote 1. to: For irittaralivaḡakkit? The affix should doubtless be ḡalivar also in 'imaaḡaluaḡḡakku' and 'puitsii(j)ammaraluaḡtunḡu' in the text.
p.91 Line 9, change 'tagpikuuna' to: tatpikuuna, and 5th line from end change 'tagpagaguḡ' to: tatpagaguḡ.
p.102 Line 5, change 'lously' to: lousy.
p.121 - 130 Remove from index W Gr. juir, kkataḡ and kkisir, add to nasaar 'C 16', remove 'C(61)' from raar, add entries for 'hag/haadlag C 16', 'haar C 12' (under 'saar'), rujuk W Gr. 26', kujuut W Gr. 26', and kullatsiḡ W Gr. 15'. Change '2' to '7' under lisaar W Gr. put '11' in brackets for W Gr. ma, change '15' to '16' under W Gr. usar and '(d)luajuut C 15' to 'dluajuut C 13', and add 'rullir W Gr. 16', 'niarsuaar W Gr. 12', and '8' to niar entry for Tarr.

